DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 166 336 UD 019 135

TITLE Window Dressing on the Set: An Update.
INSTITUTION Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Jan 79
NOTE 104p.; For a related document see ED 144 115 ; Not available in hard copy due to small print

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Affirmative Action; Characterization; Childhood Attitudes; Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); Drama; *Equal Opportunities (Jobs); *Ethnic Stereotypes; *Females; *Minority Groups; News Reporting; *Television; Television Commercials

ABSTRACT

Analyzed in this report are the portrayals of minorities and women in television drama from 1975-1977 and the representation of minorities and women in the network news of 1977. Also analyzed are 1977 employment patterns at local and network television stations and television's effects on viewers and the first amendment. Data presenced show that race and sex stereotyping in television drama continues. Taken into consideration are the age and occupational status of characters and their differentiation by race and sex. Representation of minorities and women in the network news is described as being more encouraging. Findings regarding the employment status of minorities and women at television stations indicate that, despite increases in the numbers of minority and female employees at television stations, they are almost completely absent from decision-making positions. Suggestions are made for an effective affirmative action plan in television employment. The investigation of the effects of television on children center around their perceptions of and knowledge about minorities and about sex and occupational roles as they are influenced by television portrayals of minorities and women, the influence of advertising, and the effects of television violence on their behavior. Recommendations for dealing with the findings of these analyses are made and statistical data collected for the study are appended. (EB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED166336

FEB 8 1979

Window Dressing on the Set: an Update

UDC 19135

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights January 1979

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.
January 1979

The President
The President of the Senate
The Speaker of the House of Representatives

Sirs:

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights presents to you this report pursuant to Public Law 85–315 as amended.

It has been just over a year since the Commission released *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television. Window Dressing* reported the findings of studies of network television drama broadcast from 1969 through 1974 and network news programs broadcast in 1974 and 1975. It also contained a study of the employment status of women and minorities at 40 local television stations, including all of those owned by the networks.

The current report investigates whether the status of women and minorities has improved since the periods covered in *Window Dressing*. This report updates the network entertainment and news studies with the most recent information available: an analysis of portrayals of minorities and women on television drama from 1975 to 1977 and an analysis of minorities and women in the network news of 1977. It also contains an analysis of 1977 employment patterns at network headquarters and at network-owned stations.

We urge your consideration of the facts contained in this report and request your good offices in implementing its recommendations.

Respectfully,

Arthur S. Flemming, *Chairman*
Stephen Horn, *Vice Chairman*
Frankie M. Freeman
Manuel Ruiz, Jr.
Murray Saltzman

Louis Nuñez, *Acting Staff Director*

PREFACE

Television is a dominant factor in American life. It transcends space, catapulting viewers across the Nation and around the world, introducing them to diverse peoples in various settings along the way.

Television is preeminent as a communicator of ideas and as an entertainment form. Just as in a moment of triumph it showed the thrust into space fairly and objectively, it can achieve equivalent standards of presentation when grappling with cultural and racial diversity or when covering men and women. Because of the medium's capacity for fixing an image in the public mind, its responsibility for avoiding stereotypic and demeaning depictions becomes central to its role.

The encompassing nature of the medium necessitates that diversity among decisionmakers, newsmakers, and newscasters become an integral aspect of television. Because the Commission's 1977 report entitled *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television* documented a troubling distance from this goal, the Commission has reconsidered television's treatment of women and minorities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Commission is indebted to the following staff members who participated in the preparation of this report: Helen Franzwa Loukas, Project Director; Henry A. Gordon; and Carolyn Reid-Smith.

Gail Gerebenics, Office of General Counsel, provided helpful legal advice leading to the preparation of chapter 5.

Rosa L. Crumlin had the major responsibility for typing the manuscript and preparing the tables. Typing assistance was provided by Cheryl Blake, Lucille Boston, Gloria Ferrer, Mary Moore, Roberta Sanders, and Patsy Washington.

The report was prepared under the overall supervision of Caroline Davis Gleiter, Acting Assistant Staff Director, Office of Program and Policy Review.

Lawrence Reidman and Bonnie Mathews served as editors. Preparation for publication was the responsibility of Deborah A. Harrison, Vivian Hauser, and Audree Holton under the supervision of Vivian Washington, Publication Support Center, Office of Management.

We appreciate the work of the following students who served as coders of the news: Hector Corporan, Kendall Lambert, Catherine Lauwers, Theresa Marron, Brian Mosley, Bassey Obot, Fernando Sandoval, Alexandra Sharpe, and Carl Thiesfield.

Dean Lionel Barrow of Howard University's School of Communications and Dr. Nancy Signorielli of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania rendered valuable assistance to this project.

CONTENTS

1. COMMERCIAL TELEVISION: THE PORTRAYAL OF MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN THE MID-SEVENTIES 1
Early Portrayals of Minorities 1
Portrayal of Minorities in the Mid-1970s 2
Black Situation Comedies 2
Portrayal of Women in the Mid-1970s 5
Conclusion 6
2. PORTRAYAL OF MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN TELEVISION DRAMA . 7
Proportion of Characters by Race and Sex 8
Age of Characters 10
Comic Roles 10
Violence 15
Occupational Portrayals 15
Major Occupational Categories 15
Specific Occupational Titles 16
Discussion 16
Conclusion 20
3. MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN NETWORK TELEVISION NEWS 23
News Content 23
Topics of News Stories 23
Newsmakers 24
Newsmaker Roles 24
News Correspondents 25
The Commission's Sample 25
Analysis of All Correspondents Appearing in 1977 27
Discussion 29
Women and Minorities as Anchors 29
Minorities and Women as Correspondents 31
Conclusion 32
4. EMPLOYMENT OF MINORITIES AND WOMEN AT LOCAL TELEVISION STATIONS AND THE NETWORKS 33
Equal Employment Opportunity at Local Stations 33
Women and Minorities in Policymaking Positions 34
Affirmative Action in Television Employment 36
Equal Employment Opportunity at the Networks 40
5. TELEVISION'S EFFECT ON VIEWERS AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT . 44
Television's Effect 44
Television's Effect on Children 46
The Effect of Televised Violence on Children 46
The Effect of Television Advertising on Children 48
The Effect of the Portrayal of Minorities and Women on Children 49
The Role of the Federal Communications Commission 50

The First Amendment and Children's Television 51
Violence, the Family Hour, and the First Amendment 53
The Portrayal of Minorities and Women on Television and the First Amendment 55
FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 60
Findings 60
Stereotyped Portrayals in Television Drama 60
Women and Minorities in Network News 61
Women and Minorities as Officials and Managers 62
Recommendations 62
Portrayal of Women and Minorities in Television Programming 62
FCC Enforcement of Equal Employment Opportunity in the Broadcasting Industry 64
APPENDICES 67
A.1 Characters by Race, Sex, and Year, 1969 through 1977 67
A.2 Age of Characters by Race and Sex, 1969—74 and 1975—77 68
A.3 Characters Who Commit Violence by Race and Sex, 1969—74 and 1975—77 69
A.4 Characters Who Suffer Violence by Race and Sex, 1969—74 and 1975—77... 70
A.5 Characters in Selected Occupational Roles by Race and Sex, 1969—74 and 1975—77 71
A.6 Characters Portrayed in Specific Occupations by Race, Sex, and Time of Broadcast Listed in Order of Frequency of Portrayal of All Characters, 1975—1977 72
A.7 Metholodology and Reliability of Data 80
B.1 Newsmaker Roles by Race and Sex, 1974—75 and 1977 83
B.2 Gender Distributions of Correspondent Appearances by Network and Month, 1977 84
B.3 Female Correspondents Appearing on Network Television News in 1977 85
C.1 Concentration of Employees in Nine Job Categories (40-Station Sample) 1975 and 1977 87
C.2 Comparison of Percentages of Official and Manager Employees Versus All Employees (40-Station Sample) 1977 87
C.3 Utilization Ratios of Employees at 40 Television Stations By Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1977 88
C.4 FCC Form 395 Submissions by ABC, CBS, NBC, 1977 90
C.5 Officials and Managers by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex for Network-Owned Stations and Network Headquarters, 1977 91
C.6 All Employees by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex for Network-Owned Stations and Network Headquarters, 1977 92
C.7 Occupational Distribution of Employees in Nine Job Categories at Network Headquarters by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1977 93
D. Comments by the Federal Communications Commission on an Early Draft of this Report 95
E. Comments by the Federal Communications Commission on this Report 97
TABLES
2.1 The 10 Most Frequently Appearing Occupations by Race and Sex, 1975—77 (Specific Occupation Title Data) 20
4.1 Number of Stations Utilizing Minorities and Women at Various Levels (40—Station Sample), 1977 39

FIGURES

2.1 Sex and Race of Major Characters on Television Drama, 1975—77, and of the U.S. Population, 1976 9
2.2 Age Distributions of Characters in Television Drama, 1975—77 11
2.3 Percentages of All Characters Compared to Percentage of Teenage Characters by Race and Sex, 1975—77 12
2.4 Distributions of Major Characters in all Roles and in Comic Roles in Prime Time and Family Hour, 1975—77 13
2.5 Percentages of Major Characters Who Play Comic Roles, 1969—74 and 1975—77 14
2.6 Percentages of Characters in Selected Occupational Roles 1969—74 and 1975—77 18
2.7 Percentages of Characters Whose Occupations Could Not be Identified, 1969—74 and 1975—77 (Broad Occupational Categories Data) 19
2.8 Percentages of Characters Appearing in Occupational Roles During Family Hour and Late Evening 21
3.1 Distributions by Race and Sex Within Newsmaker Categories, 1977 26
3.2 Distribution of Correspondent Appearances by Race and Sex, 1974—75 and 1977 28
3.3 Correspondents and Correspondent Appearances by Sex and Network, January 1977 30
4.1 Distribution of Officials and Managers by Race and Sex, 1977 (40-Station Sample) 35
4.2 Distributions of Work Forces at Network-Owned Stations and Network Headquarters by Race and Sex, 1977 42

Chapter 1

Commercial Television: The Portrayal of Minorities and Women in the Mid-Seventies

Early Portrayals of Minorities

In its 1977 report, *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television,* the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights presented an historical review of major themes associated with the portrayal of minorities and women since television's beginnings.

The Commission first discussed commercial television drama of the 1950s from which minorities were almost totally absent, often at sponsor insistence.[1] When minorities did appear they played highly stereotyped roles. Blacks were seen in supporting roles as servants on *The Great Gildersleeve* and *The Jack Benny Show.* The only series in which they starred was *Amos 'n' Andy,* a program in which the characters were so insulting to blacks that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) demanded that it be taken off the air.[2] American Indians frequently appeared in westerns, but the clearly unsympathetic depiction of them moved the Association for American Indian Affairs (AAIA) to launch a national campaign to improve it.[3] Asian and Pacific Island Americans were seen primarily in old movies featuring such Chinese stereotypes as the Charlie Chan detective and the Fu Manchu underworld leader; Japanese were typically seen in reruns of movies about the Second World War. The Japanese American Citizens League has since attacked these movies for their "derogatory and vicious" portrayals of the Japanese people.[4] People of Hispanic origin, almost completely absent from television drama in the 1950s with the exception of western movies, have also complained recently about the perpetuation of Mexican stereotypes in reruns of old films.[5]

The growing strength of the civil rights movement in the 1960s helped pave the way for several series that featured blacks in positive roles, such as *I Spy* and *Julia,* but Hispanic Americans, Asian and Pacific Island Americans, American Indians, and Alaskan Natives continued to be virtually absent from television drama. The Mexican bandit stereotype, however, was frequently seen in a series of commercials.[6]

In the early 1970s both women and minorities were featured in a variety of comedies, but they rarely starred in serious dramas. The exceptions were several "action" shows in which they played police or detectives. *Police Woman, Get Christie Love, Shaft, Tenafly,* and *Hawaii Five-O* starred or featured women, blacks, and Asian and Pacific Island Americans in such roles.[7]

While attempts have been made to inject serious subjects into programs featuring minorities and

[1] Erik Barnouw, *The Image Empire, A History of Broadcasting in the United States, vol. II: from 1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 34–6. In his recent book, *The Sponsor,* noted broadcast historian Erik Barnouw traces the evolution of commercial sponsorship of radio and television programs and discusses the impact of sponsor attitudes on broadcast content. Professor Barnouw, founder and former chair of Columbia University's Film Division and former head of the Writer's Guild of America, argues that sponsors retain the ultimate authority over broadcast content. He relates numerous instances of the control that sponsors continue to hold, several of which concern the portrayal of blacks. Erik Barnouw, *The Sponsor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 34, 50–51, 110–11, 114, 196.

[2] "News from NAACP," July 19, 1951, quoted in George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities,* 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Bros., 1958), p. 716.

[3] Ralph E. Friar and Natasha A. Friar, *The Only Good Indian. . .The Hollywood Gospel* (New York: Drama Book Specialists/Publishers, 1972), pp. 260–61.

[4] Les Brown, "Ethnic Pressures Are Effective in Barring 'Offensive' TV Films," *New York Times,* Nov. 28, 1973, p. 90.

[5] Ibid.

[6] William Raspberry, "How About Frito Amigo?" *Washington Post,* June 2, 1971, p. A19; "Who's the Real Bandito?" *Washington Post,* June 7, 1971, p. A23.

[7] Sue Cameron, "Police Drama: Women Are On the Case," *Ms.* , October 1974, p. 104; Joel Dreyfuss, "Blacks and Television, Part 1: Television Controversy: Covering The Black Experience," *Washington Post,* Sept. 1, 1974, p. K5.

women—for example, producer Norman Lear has dealt with such serious issues as hypertension, rape, equal employment opportunity, abortion, and racial prejudice in *All in the Family, Maude,* and *Good Times* —many of the situation comedies featuring minorities have been criticized for doing more harm than good. Donald Bogle, an authority on the portrayal of blacks in film, argued in a *Washington Post* interview that the portrayal of blacks in situation comedies suggests that the new comedies do not portray blacks with sensitivity: "They take authentic issues in the black community and distort them. . . .The thing we can ask of television is that black characters be funny and intelligent."[8]

The National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) also criticized the portrayal of blacks and other minorities in situation comedies, charging that portrayals are "slanted toward the ridiculous with no redeeming counter images," that blacks and other minorities are "cast in extremes," and that the programs in which blacks are featured give the impression that they do not perform effectively in professional positions. Finally, NBFO noted that with relatively few blacks being portrayed in professional positions and with those few being made to appear ridiculous, "black children, by and large, have no worthy role models on television."[9] Others have noted, as will be reported below, that white children may also be affected by negative portrayals of blacks and other minorities.[10]

Portrayal of Minorities in the Mid-1970s

With few exceptions, minorities other than blacks are infrequently seen on television. During the 1977 season, Asian and Pacific Island Americans were seen as continuing characters on *Hawaii Five-O, Quincy,* and *Barney Miller* and Hispanics were seen on *Chico and the Man* and *CHiPS.* American Indians appeared in *How the West Was Won.*

A variety of citizens' groups representing the interests of women and men of different racial and ethnic minorities have met with network and production company representatives in efforts to improve the portrayals of minorities in commercial television drama, with varying degrees of success. For example, when *Chico and the Man* first went on the air, several Mexican American organizations met with the show's producer to protest the portrayal of Mexican Americans. Several improvements were made in the show, and the company's production coordinator, Jorge Luis Rodriguez, attributed this to discussions with Chicano groups.[11]

Criticisms of the portrayal of minorities continue, however, particularly in regard to the ways blacks are depicted in situation comedies. Indeed, these criticisms are being published with increasing frequency in the popular press and supporting data are beginning to appear in academic journals.

Black Situation Comedies

The major criticism of situation comedies featuring blacks has been that blacks are almost always portrayed as being ridiculous and are almost never featured in serious roles. Broadcast historian Erik Barnouw argues that serious presentation of blacks or other minorities in television drama is rare because broadcasters are in the business of entertaining their audience and do not want to move them "too deeply." Although both the *Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* and *Roots* were critical and ratings successes, Barnouw suggests that such programs appear infrequently because the commercials are often painfully inappropriate. Programs that make advertising appear inappropriate do not (in the eyes of broadcasters) make good advertising vehicles.[12]

An article in a 15-part newspaper series exploring popular culture focused on the portrayal of minorities in commercial television.[13] Nathan Irvin Huggins, professor of history at Columbia University and former president of the Museum of Afro-American History in Boston, noted that while blacks appear on television now more than in the 1960s, they are rarely portrayed seriously and the issues that are treated on the shows in which they appear are trivialized: "Intermarriage on *The Jeffersons* is reduced to mere idiocy. Chronic underemployment for urban blacks is given no better treatment in *Good Times.* "[14] Acknowledging that having a sense of humor is a

[8] Dreyfuss, "Blacks and Television," p. K5.
[9] "NBFO Lists TV Complaints and Protests, 'That's My Mama'," *Media Report to Women,* Dec. 1, 1974, p. 16.
[10] Bradley S. Greenberg and Charles K. Atkin, "Learning About Minorities from Television: The Research Agenda," Michigan State University, Department of Communication, April 1978.
[11] Ibid., pp. 23-24.
[12] Barnouw, *The Sponsor,* p. 114.
[13] Nathan Irvin Huggins, "Opportunities for Minorities in Television and Movies: Facade of Humor Can Obscure Substance of Subject," *Washington Post,* Apr. 13, 1978, p. D.C. 7. The 15-part series titled "Courses by Newspaper" is sponsored by the University of California at San Diego and the National Endowment for the Humanities.
[14] Ibid.

useful trait, Professor Huggins argues that television gives us *only* humor when it features blacks.[15]

A *Time* magazine essay entitled "Blacks on TV: A Disturbing Image" recently decried every major male character in the black situation comedies in the spring 1978 season:

> Here we have George Jefferson: entrepreneur, black bigot, a splenetic little whip of a man who bullies like a demented overseer, seldom speaks below a shriek and worships at the church of ostentation. Would you like to live next door to *The Jeffersons?* Or consider the character J.J. on TV's *Good Times:* a bug-eye young comic of the ghetto with spasms of supercool blowing through his nervous system, a kind of Electra-Glide strut. "Dy-no- *mite!*" goes J.J., to convulse the audience in the way that something like "Feets, do your stuff!" got to them three decades ago. Then there is the character Ray Ellis in *Baby, I'm Back:* a feckless black creep who deserted his wife and two children seven years ago, one step ahead of his bookie's enforcers, and has now reappeared to make excuses and bedroom eyes at the wife. Ellis and the show's writers make much merriment at the expense of the sober, straight career Army officer courting the wife; obviously, he is a turkey.[16]

Again, the point is made that while whites are often shown in ridiculous roles on TV, they are also seen in a wide variety of other programs and roles, but, with few exceptions, blacks appear only in situation comedies.[17]

The *Time* essay asked whether shows about blacks should be held "to a higher standard of relevance, sensitivity and accuracy than those about whites." It suggested that the answer to this question is yes, primarily because many whites who know relatively little about blacks are "receiving a brutalized, stupid or stereotyped image of blacks through TV [and] are liable to tell themselves, 'why, yes, that's the way blacks are'."[18] One of the more "disturbing images" in the fall 1977 season was a mother (Florida of *Good Times)* abandoning her children. Of this sequence, the *Time* essay noted:

> It was a strange and destructive message that *Good Times* sent out when its producers eliminated not only the family's strong, if frustrated, father (John Amos) but also, later, its mother (Esther Rolle), who abandoned her three children in their Chicago housing project to move to Arizona to be with her new man. Says Rolle, who quit the show because of her differences with the producers over the way the characters were portrayed: "It was an outrage, an insult."[19]

Concern that the portrayal of blacks in a ridiculous manner reinforces negative images of blacks—held both by majority and minority viewers—has also been voiced in the *Washington Post.* Staff writer Dorothy Gilliam argued that the characters in such shows as *Baby, I'm Back, Good Times, What's Happening?,* and *The Jeffersons* feed the "most exaggerated misconceptions" held by white viewers and present "sad distortions of blacks and the black experience" as role models for black children.[20]

Speculation in the popular press suggests that viewers are negatively affected by black situation comedies. Although the Commission is aware of no research that has directly tested this assumption, there is research that documents the kinds of things black and white children learn from television programs, what they think about various characters, and which characters they admire. Research also documents adult attitudes toward black situation comedies.

Professor Bradley S. Greenberg and Charles K. Atkin of the Michigan State University Department of Communication recently prepared a research agenda for studying what is learned about minorities from television for a conference on "Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child" convened by the Center for Afro-American Studies at the University of California at Los Angeles.[21] In their paper, Greenberg and Atkin reviewed what is already known about programs featuring minorities and how children react to them. They reported that, in a 1-week sample of 81 fictional television shows on commercial television, a total of 101 blacks appeared on 43 of the shows. They also reported a total of 12 American Indians and 13 Hispanic Americans characters.[22] Supporting their claim that "a distinct black ghetto" exists in television fiction, they reported that almost one-half (44) of all the black

[15] Ibid.
[16] Lance Morrow, "Blacks on TV: A Disturbing Image," *Time,* Mar. 27, 1978, p. 101.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., pp. 101-02.
[20] Dorothy Gilliam, "The Racial Trap in Black Sit-Coms," *Washington Post,* May 14, 1978, p. H-1.
[21] Greenberg and Atkin, "Learning about Minorities."
[22] Ibid., p. 2. For additional data on the presence of racial and ethnic minorities in television drama, see chapter 2.

characters in their sample appeared on only six shows: *Muhammad Ali* and *Fat Albert* on Saturday morning and *The Jeffersons, Good Times, What's Happening?*, and *Sanford Arms* during prime time.[23]

Reviewing a variety of studies that they and other researchers had previously conducted among Mexican American, black, and Anglo children of various income classes, Greenberg and Atkin reported that low-income minority children watch more television, are more accepting of what they see, are more involved in what they see, and learn more from what they see than do majority children.[24]

A second study was designed to learn what personality traits a group of white children attribute to television characters.[25] An unanticipated result of this study suggests that they attribute negative personality traits to several minority characters—J.J. of *Good Times*, Chico of *Chico and the Man*, and Fred Sanford of *Sanford and Son* —who were among a set of 15 well-known television characters used in the study. (The 11 other television characters in the study were 5 white females[26] and 6 white males.[27] No minority females were included.) The study assessed children's perceptions of and desires to "do like" and "be like" these television characters. The sample consisted of 89 white sixth- and eighth-grade boys and girls living in a suburb of Madison, Wisconsin.[28]

The characteristics that most differentiated television characters were humor, "smartness," and support from other characters on the program. Three of the four characters rated as being humorous, not smart, and lacking in support from other characters in the program were J.J., Fred Sanford, and Chico—the three minority characters in the sample. The fourth character perceived in this way was Archie Bunker.[29]

The authors noted that the children associated humor with lack of "smartness" and with lack of support and suggested that the children really see such characters as "buffoons."[30] That is, the children view these characters as objects of ridicule.

The children were also asked whether they wanted to "be like" and "do like" the various television characters. These four characters were *not* among those the children wished to emulate,[31] the boys wishing to be like such "active" characters as Kojak, Reed of *Adam-12*, and Steve Austin of *The Six Million Dollar Man* and the girls wishing to be like "attractive" characters such as Cher.[32]

How do black viewers respond to black situation comedy shows? A major study of how blacks use television, sponsored by the National Science Foundation and conducted by the Booker T. Washington Foundation,[33] analyzed the viewing habits and preferences of approximately 270 black viewers (48.5 percent males, 51.5 percent females) obtained from a series of three interviews conducted in the San Francisco Bay area in 1976.[34]

Among many other topics, viewers were questioned about their reactions to *Sanford and Son, Good Times*, and *The Jeffersons*. All three shows were heavily watched by the viewers, almost all of whom had something good to say about each show. Few viewers, however, personally identified with the programs.[35]

While there were more positive than negative comments about each program, viewers were often critical of the overall concept of the shows or of the individual plots. Typical of the comments made about *Sanford and Son* was, "If they are going to show a black family, why does the father have to be a junkman?"[36]

Respondents citing things they liked about *Good Times* frequently mentioned the presence of a full family and noted that too often television's portrayal of black families is that they are both poor and fatherless.[37] Fewer viewers liked *The Jeffersons* than the other two programs and they had more negative things to say about it, particularly disapproving what they perceived as its individual and group racism theme.[38]

---

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., pp. 9–19. This research is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

[25] Byron Reeves and Guy E. Lometti, "The Dimensional Structure of Children's Perception of Television Characters: A Replication," University of Wisconsin and West Virginia University (unpublished manuscript, July 1977), pp. 1–13.

[26] The white female characters were Cher of *The Sonny and Cher Show*, Laura of *Little House on the Prairie*, Mary Richards of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Phyllis, and Rhoda. Ibid., figure 2.

[27] The white male characters were Steve Austin of *The Six Million Dollar Man*, Archie Bunker of *All in the Family*, Hawkeye of *M*A*S*H*, Kojak, John-Boy of *The Waltons*, and Reed of *Adam-12*. Ibid., figure 2.

[28] Ibid., p. 3.

[29] Ibid., p. 6.

[30] Ibid., p. 8.

[31] Ibid., p. 9.

[32] Ibid., p. 11.

[33] "How Blacks Use Television for Entertainment and Information," Booker T. Washington Foundation, Cablecommunications Resource Center-West (1977), pp. 1–119.

[34] The original panel of 324 was reduced to 257, 276, and 268 for each of the interviews due to refusals or nonavailability of respondents. Ibid., pp. 36–39.

[35] Ibid., pp. 64–68.

[36] Ibid., p. 67.

[37] Ibid. The father character on *Good Times* was eliminated in the following (fall 1976) season. The mother character left in the next (fall 1977) season. She returned in the fall 1978 season.

[38] Ibid., p. 68.

The viewers' ambivalence about situation comedies featuring blacks reflects the effect on black viewers of the portrayal of blacks in a ridiculous manner—it hurts but it is preferable to exclusion. The ambivalence felt is best summed up by this comment offered as typical of the responses: "Watching Fred Sanford is better than not getting to watch any black folks at all on television. . .but there should be more good programs on about us."[39]

Portrayal of Women in the Mid-1970s

Women and girls have always been underrepresented in commercial television drama. Research dating back to the early 1950s documents that female characters have consistently constituted between 25 and 30 percent of all characters.[40] While a recent spate of new shows featuring young women suggests that the proportion of women on television may be increasing, the ways in which many of them are depicted suggest that women, like minorities, are sometimes abused by television. "Girls" in highly revealing costumes are often seen in "jiggly" shows.[41] Furthermore, there is evidence that the frequency of this type of portrayal—in the form of imitations of such ratings hits as *Love Boat, Charlie's Angels,* and *Three's Company* —is increasing. A major *Washington Post* analysis of programs that were being planned for the fall 1978 season illustrated in detail the various ways in which program planners were thinking about portraying "girls":

> They're pushing their way up through the TV ranks now: pompon girls, roller derby queens, reckless coeds, bronzed beach goers, slapstick blonds and underdressed agents—wriggling in and out of fun, trouble and temptation. The seeds of *Charlie's Angels* and *Three's Company* come to fruition.[42]

The analysis noted that some of the shows being planned in February 1978 for the fall season were titled *Scandal Hall; Grad Night; The Cheerleaders; California Coed; Legs; California Girls; Girls on the Road; Go West, Young Girl; The Beach Girls; Young Women in Crime; Women in Jeopardy; Centerfold; Wayward Girls; Down on the Beach; Three Way Love; Three on a Date; Girls Town;* and *Sugar Time.*[43]

The *Post* article's authors interviewed 40 actors, writers, and producers about the concepts behind these programs. Suggesting that the exploitative use of "girls" is what the networks were demanding, one producer commented:

> I have an idea for a series. It's just three girls—one black, one redhead, one blond—who each week go from network to network doing anything, waitressing, babysitting, whatever they want. It doesn't matter.[44]

A writer, commenting on how this was "supposed to be a time for women's projects on TV," said that all the networks really want is girls who are "good looking, well-endowed and running toward the camera."[45]

In early May 1978, CBS and ABC announced the programs to be aired in the new season beginning in September. Most of the pilots featuring "girls" were not purchased; however, CBS announced two new shows: *The American Girls* and *Flying High. The American Girls* is about two "beautiful young women, a big-city girl and an innocent and vulnerable country girl, [who] travel the country in search of material for a fictional TV magazine show." *Flying High* is about "three beautiful girls [who] qualify for airline flight attendant training and. . .start living a life of adventure and fun in the air, in their joint apartment, at their various ports of call."[46]

Later in May, NBC announced its schedule. Initially, it included *Legs,* a program about a "Las Vegas show girl" trying to raise her son, and *Coastocoast,* about two stewardesses and a flight

---

[39] Ibid., p. 89.

[40] See, for example, Sidney W. Head, "Content Analysis of Television Drama Programs," *Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television,* vol. 9 (1954), pp. 175-94; Joseph Turow, "Advising and Ordering: Daytime, Prime Time," *Journal of Communication,* vol. 24 (1974), pp. 138-44; Jean C. McNeil, "Feminism, Femininity, and the Television Series: A Content Analysis," *Journal of Broadcasting,* vol. 19 (1975), pp. 259-69; and Statistical Subcommittee of the Women's Conference Committee of the Screen Actors Guild, "3-Year Television Female Performer Employment Study," May 1975, sect. II, table C.

[41] "Jiggly" shows, a recently coined Hollywood term of art, feature clothes and action that emphasize women's bodies.

[42] Ellen Farley and William K. Knoedelseder, Jr., "Rub-a-Dub-Dub, Three Networks in a Tub: The Future is Now in TV's Titillation Sweepstakes," *Washington Post,* Feb. 19, 1978, p. G-1.

[43] Ibid., pp. G-1, G-2.

[44] Ibid., p. G-1.

[45] Ibid.

[46] "Two Out of the Chute for Fall," *Broadcasting,* May 8, 1978, p. 25. The pilot for *Flying High* was aired on CBS on Aug. 28, 1978. Soon thereafter, the president of the 18,000-member Association of Flight Attendants issued a statement which said in part, "After watching the program. . .I can only say that the script used every stereotype and cliche that has ever been used in a derogatory manner toward flight attendants. . . .We have worked so many years to dispel the mistaken image of flight attendants as sex goddesses, and this program is a real setback in these efforts. . . ."
A CBS representative responded that the network "is certainly open to constructive criticism" but suggested that the pilot did not reflect the series. John Carmody, "The TV Column," *Washington Post,* Aug. 31, 1978, p. F11.

officer who work and play together, a take-off on *Three's Company* and *Love Boat.* [47] When Fred Silverman joined NBC in June, *Coastocoast* was temporarily put on hold, and the title and concept of *Legs* were changed. *Who's Watching the Kids?* is set in Las Vegas, but there is less emphasis on show girls and casinos.[48]

Programs that feature women's bodies have been severely criticized. For example, Kathleen Nolan, president of the Screen Actors Guild, has said: "Women. . .are desperately disheartened to be faced in 1978 with the disgraceful trash which is being transmitted in the guise that this is the American woman."[49]

In the summer of 1978, the Screen Actors Guild held a panel discussion on the image of women. An NBC representative serving on the panel took the opportunity to announce that NBC's policy was not to buy programs that exploit women's bodies.[50] About a week later NBC announced that it had cancelled *Coastocoast.* [51] It remains to be seen whether ABC and CBS will adopt a similar policy.

Conclusion

The black situation comedies and "jiggly" shows, while certainly not the only ones in which minorities and women are portrayed, nevertheless represent recent and important trends in the portrayal of members of these groups on network television drama during prime time. These trends indicate that the portrayal of minorities and women has not improved since 1969–74, the period covered in *Window Dressing.*

In the following chapter, this Commission presents data from an update of its previous analysis. Using the most recent available data—from the 1975–77 seasons—the Commission describes in several specific ways how minorities and women are currently portrayed on television.

[47] "Third Shoe Drops for Fall Season," *Broadcasting,* May 22, 1978, pp. 29–30.
[48] "Silverman Puts Stamp on First Changes," *Broadcasting,* June 19, 1978, p. 34.
[49] "SAG's Nolan Blasts TV Portrayal of Women," *Broadcasting,* June 5, 1978, p. 55.
[50] William K. Knoedelseder, Jr., and Ellen Farley, "Women on TV: The Shape of Things to Come," *Washington Post,* Aug. 6, 1978, p. H1.
[51] John Carmody, "The TV Column," *Washington Post,* Aug. 14, 1978, p. B6.

Chapter 2

The Portrayal of Minorities and Women in Television Drama

Window Dressing presented an analysis of the ways in which majority and minority women and men were depicted in prime time television drama during the years 1969 through 1974.[1] Among the findings of that analysis were that majority males dominated prime time television both in numbers and occupational prestige and that, of all other groups, minority female characters were most underrepresented and were least often in prestigious occupations. Male characters generally exceeded females in numbers, and majority characters disproportionately exceeded minorities, so that minority females and majority males provided the largest contrast.[2]

Majority male characters were mainly in their thirties and forties; minority female characters were mostly in their twenties.[3] Majority males were most frequently shown as employed in professional, law enforcement, and managerial positions; minority females were mostly depicted as unemployed or in clerical and service positions.[4] male and majority female characters also tended to be younger and in less prestigious occupations than majority males.[5]

This Commission was interested in learning whether the portrayal of women and minorities has improved since the 1969–74 period. To answer this question, we obtained and analyzed the most recent available data on the portrayal of minorities and women in prime time television drama.[6] These data were developed under contract for this Commission by the Cultural Indicators Research Project at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications and are for the 1975, 1976, and 1977 television seasons. The methodology and sampling procedures used in collecting the more recent data remain the same as were used for the earlier period[7] with the following exceptions:

[1] The data used in that analysis were obtained under contract from the Cultural Indicators Research Project of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania. The Cultural Indicators Project, underwritten by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, is directed by Dean George Gerbner and Dr. Nancy Signorielli.

[2] *Window Dressing*, pp. 31–32, figures 2.1 and 2.2.

[3] Ibid., p. 31, figure 2.1.

[4] Ibid., pp. 34–35, figure 2.3.

[5] Ibid., p. 31, figure 2.1, and p. 35, figure 2.3.

[6] Prime time television drama includes all teleplays regardless of genre, including situation comedies, police/crime dramas, family dramas, adventure dramas, and movies, but excludes variety shows such as *Donny and Marie* and *The Carol Burnett Show*. Prime time drama begins at 8 p.m. and ends at 11 p.m. in the Eastern, Mountain, and Pacific time zones and lasts from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. in the Central time zone.

[7] The Cultural Indicators Research Project of the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, has been conducting annual analyses of network entertainment programming since the mid-1960s. Dean George Gerbner, director of the project, makes frequent public appearances reporting the project's findings—particularly with respect to the incidence of violence on television—and has testified before both the House and Senate subcommittees on communications.

While the Cultural Indicators Research Project has received support from the academic community—for example, in July 1975 the committee on television and social behavior of the Social Science Research Council recommended that the National Institute of Mental Health continue funding its research program—CBS has criticized the methodology used in collecting the violence data.

David Blank, CBS vice president and chief economist, has concerns regarding the project's methodology that may be summarized as follows: (1) The definition of violence is too broad (it includes comedic violence as in Saturday morning children's cartoons and acts of nature such as earthquakes and hurricanes) and should be restricted to acts of intentional violence (such as one character killing or hurting another in serious drama). (2) A 1-week sample of television programs is unreliable because "a week of programming is no longer typical." "The Gerbner Violence Profile," *Journal of Broadcasting*, vol. 21 (summer 1977), pp. 273–79.

Dr. Gerbner and his associates have replied that (1) the CBS procedure of "using subjective judgments about what kinds of TV violence were intentionally harmful and what kinds are comedic or accidental. . .leads to gross statistical aberrations." The Cultural Indicators coding system classifies "as violence only the credible indication or actual infliction of overt physical pain, hurt, or killing." It does not allow for judgment calls regarding the intent of characters. If the character is not physically hurt or killed, no act of violence is coded. (2) Regarding the reliability of one week of programming, Dr. Gerbner reported that a study of six additional weeks in the fall 1976 season, compared to the one-week sample, yielded "remarkably stable results with high cost efficiency." Data presented in his reply indicated an average of 5.9 violent acts per program on all television programs in the 6-week sample, with a range of 5.6 to 6.4. The data from any

● The sample includes a week both in the fall and the spring for the 1975 and 1976 seasons as well as the fall 1977 season; (the previous sample covered *only* fall programming). All series in the fall and spring seasons are included in the sample with the exception of late season replacements for cancelled programs.

● The sample has been subdivided so that portrayals in programs broadcast during the family hour may be differentiated from those broadcast later in the evening.

● The Cultural Indicators Research Project has recently incorporated specific occupational job titles into its coding system, so a more detailed analysis of occupational portrayals is now possible.

● Finally, the Cultural Indicators Research Project was unwilling to prepare data for the current study on the occupations of specific minority characters, taking the position that there are so few minority characters other than blacks in prime time television drama that the resulting data might not be reliable. Thus, data are reported for "majority" and "minority" characters only.[8] "Minority" is used here to refer to blacks, Hispanics, Asian and Pacific Island Americans, and American Indians; "majority" refers to white characters who are not coded as being of Hispanic origin. The term "majority" is used interchangeably with "white."

Proportion of Characters by Race and Sex

The total number of characters appearing in the sample of prime time television for the years 1975 through 1977 was 5,042.[9] By far the largest percentage of these are white males, but females, both majority and minority, are underrepresented (see figure 2.1).[10]

The percentages of minority characters for this 3-year period increased over the previous 6-year period, from 8.6 percent to 9.6 percent for minority males and from 2.3 percent to 3.6 percent for minority females. Majority female characters increased from 23.8 to 24.1 percent. The only statistically significant increase was the gain in minority female characters.[11] Minority female characters continue to be markedly underrepresented when compared to census data, however, as can be seen in figure 2.1. When the data are separated by year (see table A.1 in appendix A), they show that the increases occurred in 1975 and 1977; in 1976 the

given week were virtually identical. "'The Gerbner Violence Profile'—An Analysis of the CBS Report," *Journal of Broadcasting*, vol. 21 (summer 1977), pp. 280–86. While the Cultural Indicators Research Project is famous for its violence index, data are also collected for a wide variety of other portrayals of television characters. This Commission contracted to obtain some of these data cross-tabulated by race and sex. Among the data requested were the characters' ages and occupations, whether the characters played comedic or serious roles, and whether the characters committed violence or were victims of it. This Commission did not request data on acts of violence *per se*, but rather the number of human characters who killed or hurt each other or who were killed or hurt. Thus, characters who are the victims of violent acts of nature or who are victims of painful physical acts of violence which may have had a "comedic intent" are included. The data consist of network dramatic programs broadcast between 8 p.m. and 11 p.m. Dramatic programs include television movies and such series types as action-adventure, melodrama, and situation comedy. Characters must have played a speaking role to be included in the analysis. For a complete discussion of the methodology used in coding the data and of the reliability of the coding procedures, see *Window Dressing*, appendix A.

[8] Representatives of a variety of organizations have written to this Commission to ask why *Window Dressing* did not contain portrayal data on a particular national, ethnic, religious, or other identifiable group (such as the aging, handicapped, or mentally ill). The Cultural Indicators Research Project does not attempt to record data for Americans of European descent, such as German Americans or Italian Americans. Usually there is insufficient data to identify the religion of television characters—94.9 percent of all characters in the 1975–77 sample could *not* be coded for religion. Only 0.9 percent of all characters were portrayed as physically handicapped in the 1975–76 sample; only 2.9 percent were portrayed as mentally ill. One minority male character was portrayed as physically handicapped. No minority characters were portrayed as mentally ill. (These data were not sought for the 1977 season.) See footnote 10 below for data collected on Asian Americans, Italin Americans, Scandinavian Americans, and Polish Americans in another study and footnote 11 for data on Hispanics, American Indians, and Asian Americans.

[9] This includes only characters with speaking roles.

[10] A study at Michigan State University, supported by a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, analyzed prime time and Saturday morning programs for the 1975, 1976, and 1977 seasons and yielded similar results. Women, regardless of race, constituted 27 percent of all characters in 1975 and 29 percent of all characters in 1976 and 1977. Bradley S. Greenberg, et al., "A Three-Season Analysis of the Demographic Characteristics of Fictional Television Characters," Michigan State University CASTLE Report No. 9, May 1978, p. 13a. (In this Commission's analysis, females constituted 27.7 percent of all prime time characters in the 1975 to 1977 seasons.)

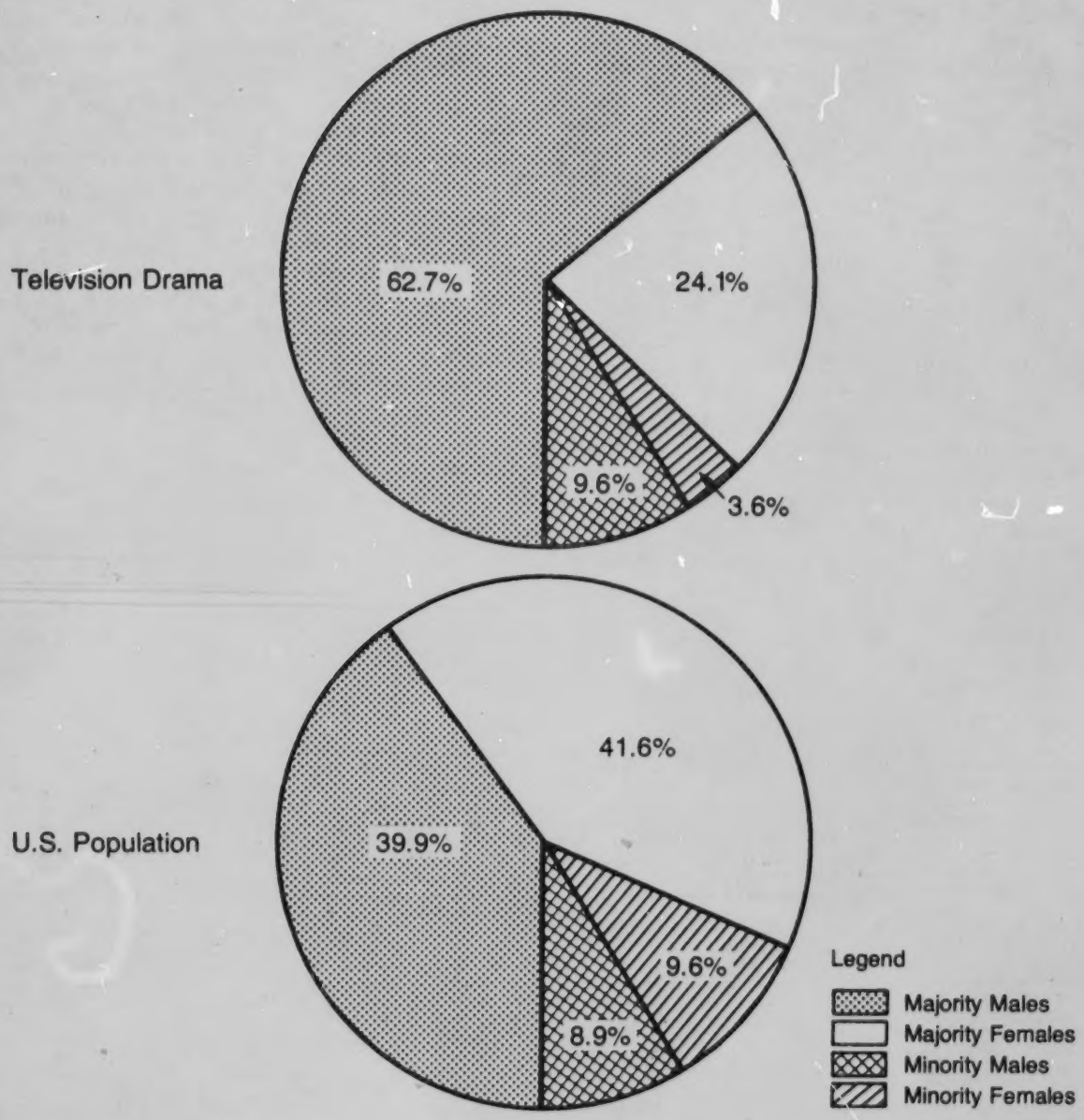
An earlier Michigan State study on the 1975 season yielded specific data on the ethnicity of characters: 75.7 percent were white, 8.8 percent black, 1.8 percent Hispanic, 1.6 percent Asian American, and 0.2 percent American Indian. Other minorities were listed in the following percentages: Italian Americans, 1.7 percent; Polish Americans, 0.2 percent; Scandinavian Americans, 0.2 percent; does not apply (cartoon characters), 9.4 percent. Katrina Wynkoop Simmons, et al., "The Demography of Fictional Television Characters in 1975–76," Michigan State University CASTLE Report No. 2, 1977, table 1. Combining blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and American Indians—the minority groups in this Commission's study—the total number of minority characters in the Michigan State study in 1975 was 12.4 percent. In this Commission's analysis the total for these groups is 14.6 percent in 1975, 10.9 percent in 1976 and 15.1 percent in 1977. See table A.1 in appendix A.

In another study—conducted at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, on the 1971, 1973, and 1975 seasons—the percentage of male and female minority characters in the 1975 season is almost identical to that reported here for the 1975–77 seasons: minority males, 9.3 percent; minority females, 3.6 percent. The percentage of white females is higher, at 27.9 percent, but characters playing nonspeaking parts were included in the Brigham Young sample and it was reported that white women played 30.1 percent of all nonspeaking parts. John F. Seggar, "Television's Portrayal of Minorities and Women, 1971–75," *Journal of Broadcasting*, vol. 21 (fall 1977), p. 444. Considering that these three studies used different sampling procedures for slightly different time periods, these results are remarkably uniform and are essentially comparable to this Commission's data.

[11] $Z = 3.96$; $p = < .001$.

FIGURE 2.1

Sex and Race of Major Characters in Television Drama, 1975-77, and of the U.S. Population, 1976



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Estimates of the Population of the United States by Age, Sex and Race: 1970 to 1977," Population Estimates and Projections, Series P–25, No. 721, April 1978; and "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1976," Population Characteristics, Series P–20, No.31, July 1977.

percentages of minority characters fell markedly—to levels not seen since 1971.[12]

Age of Characters

Female characters continue to be portrayed as younger than male characters. (See figure 2.2 for data on the age of characters and table A.2 in appendix A for comparison data with the 1969–74 period.) Male characters, regardless of race, are typically in their thirties, but female characters are more often in their twenties. The percentage of 21- to 30-year-old white female characters, already high in the previous period, increased significantly in 1975–77.[13] The percentage of 21- to 30-year-old characters who are white females (39.4 percent) is significantly higher than the overall percentage of white female characters (24.1 percent).[14] While a decline in the percentage of minority female 21- to 30-year-olds was statistically significant,[15] they nevertheless continue to constitute over one-third of all minority female characters.[16]

Characters in their teens have disproportionately high percentages of minorities and women and a disproportionately low percentage of majority males. That is, when the percentages of all characters subdivided by race and sex are compared to the percentage of teenage characters subdivided by race and sex, statistically significant differences occur among all four groups.[17] Disproportionately more minorities and women are seen as teenagers. (See figure 2.3.)

The very young and the very old continue to be disproportionately underrepresented. Those 10 years of age or younger constitute 2.1 percent of all characters and those over 60 constitute 2.9 percent.[18]

Comic Roles

As reported above, minority males disproportionately appear in teenage roles. They also disproportionately appear in comic roles. While they constitute 8.2 percent of all characters in the sample, they represent 19.3 percent of all characters who play comic roles. This difference is statistically significant.[19] (See figure 2.4.) The disproportionate presence of minority male characters in comic roles is also reflected in programs broadcast during family hour.[20] Minority male characters constitute 12.0 percent of all family hour characters, but they play 26.8 percent of all comic roles in that time period. This difference is also statistically significant.[21] (See figure 2.4.)

Moreover, while the overall percentage of characters who play comic roles declined significantly from 18.1 percent in the 1969-74 period to 8.6 percent in the 1975–77 period,[22] the percentage of minority male characters playing comic roles increased slightly.[23] (See figure 2.5.)

[12] $Z = 2.49$; $p = <.05$. Seggar reported a decline and a rise in the percentage of black characters (6.0 percent in 1971; 5.0 percent in 1973; 9.0 percent in 1975), but an overall decline in the percentage of other minority (Hispanic, American Indian, and Asian American) characters (12.0 percent in 1971; 9.0 percent in 1973; 4.0 percent in 1975). Combining all minority characters, Seggar documented a steady decrease in the percentage of minority characters, from 18.0 percent in 1971 to 13.0 percent in 1975. Seggar, p. 438. The three-season Michigan State study reports a decline in the percentage of blacks, from 11 percent in the 1976–77 season to 9 percent in the 1977–78 season. Greenberg, et al., "A Three-Season Analysis," p. 11a.

[13] $Z = 2.03$; $p = <.05$.

[14] $Z = 9.53$; $p = <.001$.

[15] $Z = 2.06$; $p = <.05$.

[16] While females constituted 26.0 percent of all characters in the 1975–76 Michigan State study, they constituted 41.0 percent of the 20- to 34-year-olds and 37.6 percent of the 13- to 19-year-olds. They were disproportionately underrepresented at all other ages. Female characters were typically 6 years younger than male characters. Simmons, et al., "Demography," tables 1 and 2.

[17] Overrepresentation of minority male characters as teenagers: $Z = 4.3; p = <.001$; overrepresentation of minority females as teenagers: $Z = 1.96; p = <.05$; overrepresentation of majority females as teenagers: $Z = 7.2; p = <.001$; underrepresentation of majority males as teenagers: $Z = 20.20; p = <.001$. The 1977–78 Michigan State study reports that the percentage of blacks under 20 has been disproportionately high during each of the past three seasons, ranging from 37 percent to 38 percent of all characters under 20 in its samples. Greenberg, et al., "A Three-Season Analysis, p. 11a.

Professor Bradley S. Greenberg, chairman of the Department of Communication of Michigan State University, has suggested that portrayals of blacks as teenagers may decrease the potential threat to white viewers that fully functioning adult characters might pose:

> .Perhaps the logic is that if it is necessary to provide whites with blacks on television then the most palatable way in which this can be done is to portray black teenagers and children rather than what may be more threatening, black adults. Indeed, there is a substantial number of blacks to be seen [on television in general] but if you don't choose to watch them in shows in which there are whole families of blacks you are unlikely to see them in most other shows. Other than situation comedies, the only other program type featuring blacks in the proportion reflected in the overall television population is. . .Saturday cartoons. Greenberg, "A Three-Season Analysis," p. 20.

[18] The 1977–78 Michigan State study also reports a decline in the percentage of characters over 65, from 4.0 percent in 1975–76 to 2.0 percent in 1977–78. Ibid., p. 8a.

[19] $\chi^2 = 12.06$; $p = <.01, d.f. = 3$.

[20] The family hour runs from 8 to 9 p.m. in the Eastern, Mountain, and Pacific time zones and from 7 to 8 p.m. in the Central time zone.

[21] $\chi^2 = 9.37$; $p = <.05, d.f. = 3$. Minority characters, regardless of sex, disproportionately appear in programs broadcast during the family hour; 56.3 percent of the minority male characters and 46.8 percent of the minority female characters appear during the family hour ($\chi^2 = 12.45$; $p = <.01, d.f. = 3$).

[22] $Z = 6.39$; $p = <.001$.

[23] The 1975–76 Michigan State study reported that minority characters in general and black characters in particular appeared disproportionately in situation comedies. Blacks constituted 8.8 percent of all characters, but 15.7 percent of those characters appeared in situation comedies. Simmons, et al., "Demography," table 1.

FIGURE 2.2
Age Distributions of Characters in Television Drama, 1975-77

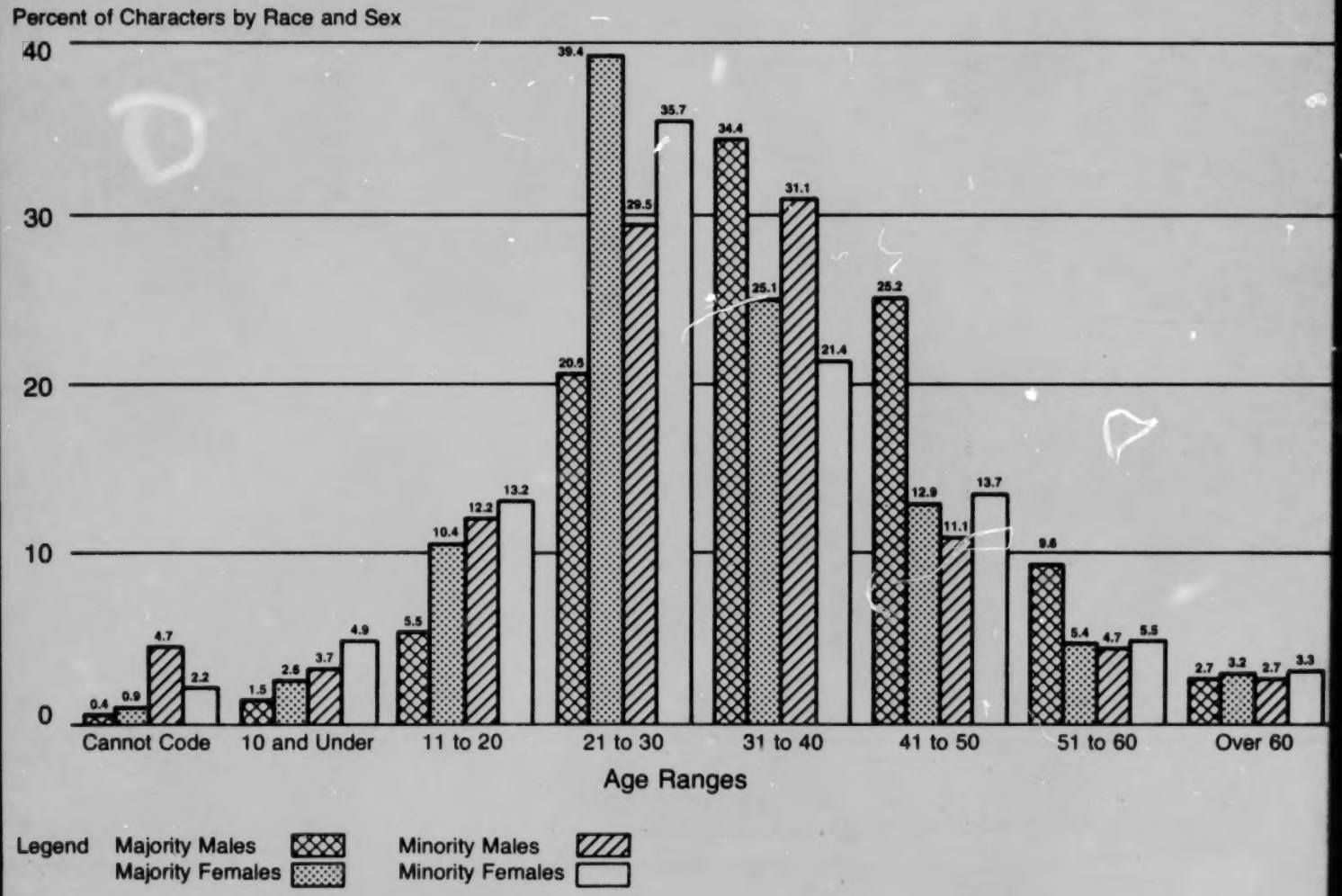


FIGURE 2.3

Percentages of All Characters Compared to Percentage of Teenage Characters by Race and Sex, 1975-77

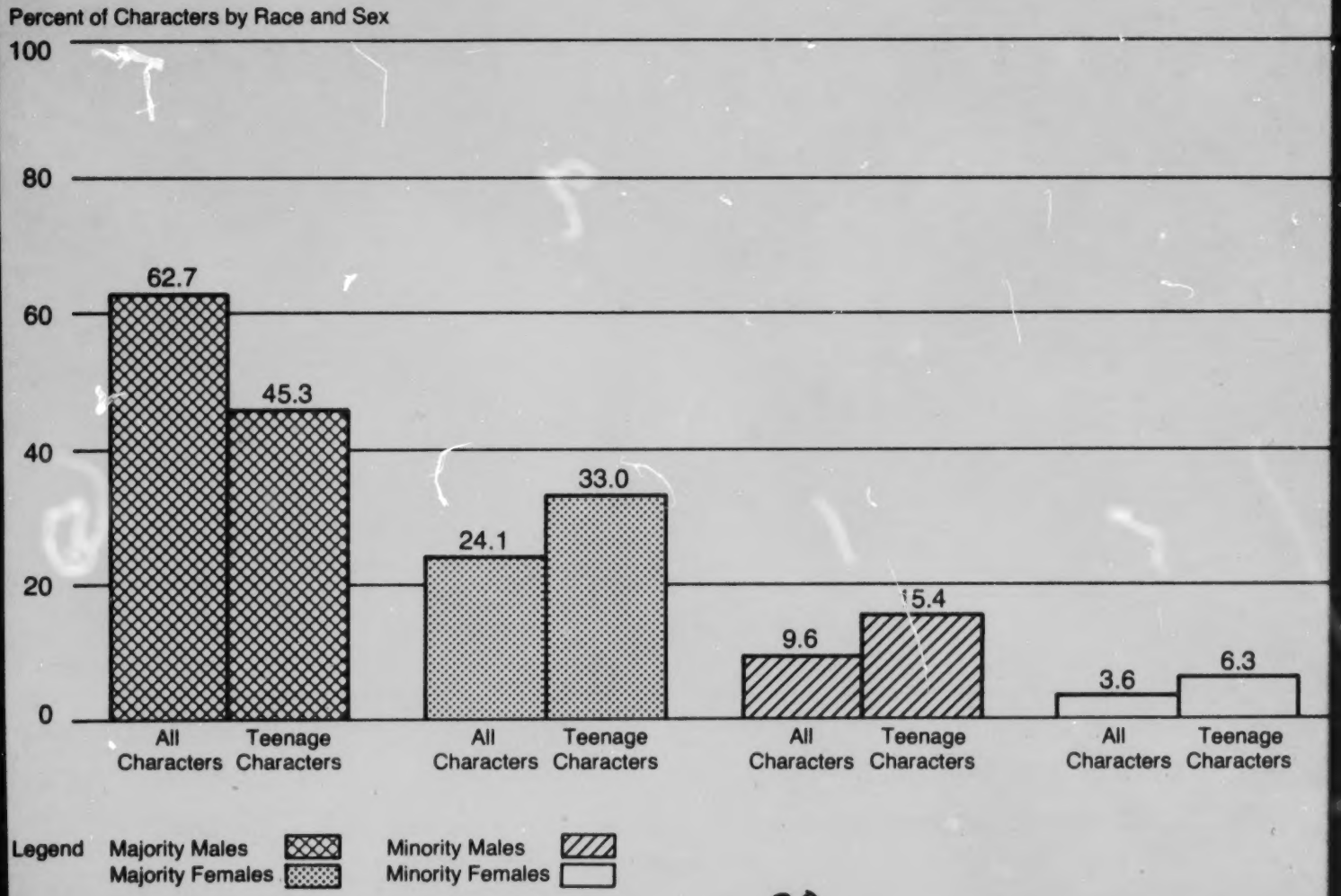


FIGURE 2.4

Distributions of Major Characters in all Roles and in Comic Roles in Prime Time and in Family Hour, 1975-77

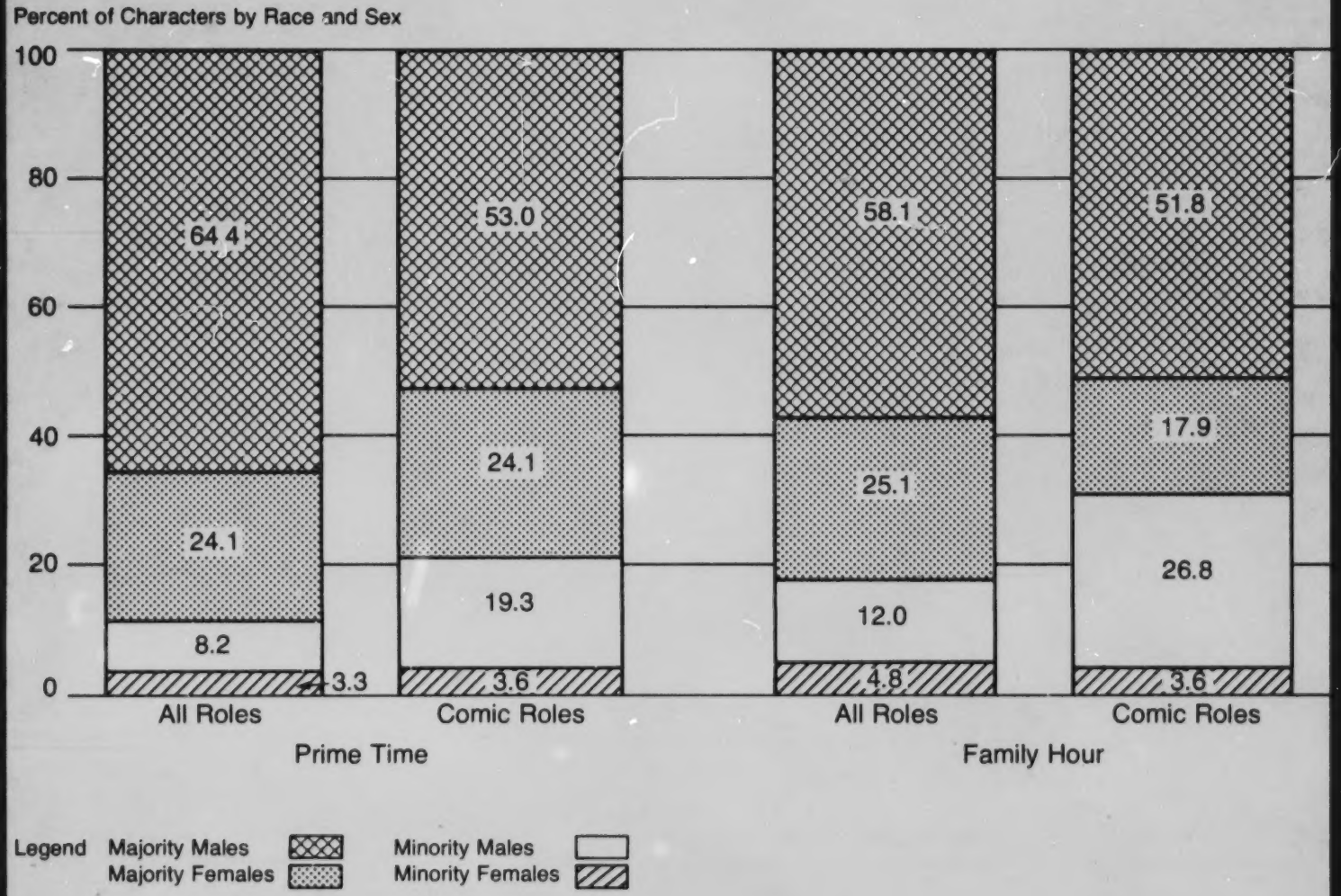
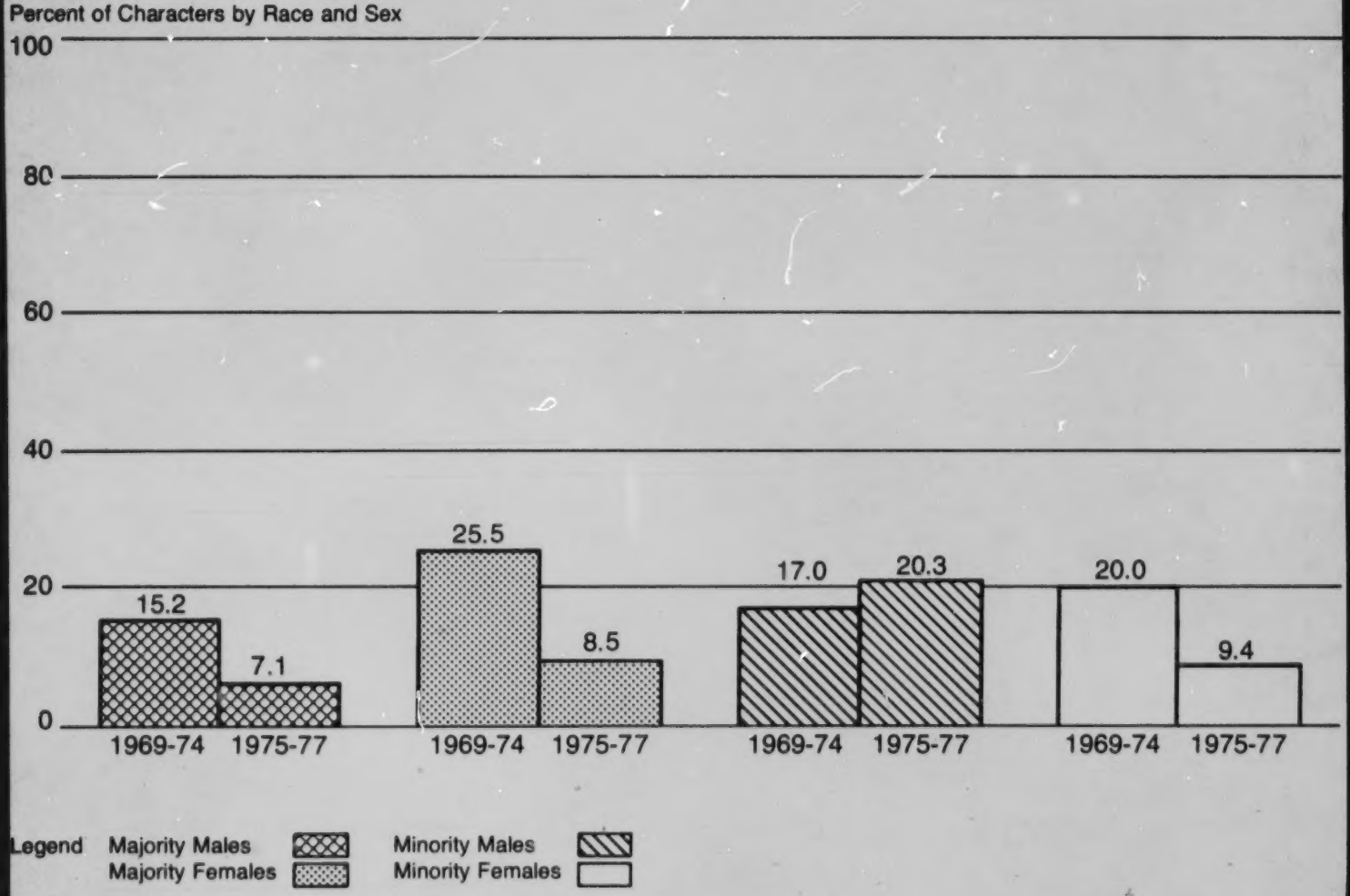


FIGURE 2.5

Percentages of Major Characters Who Play Comic Roles, 1969-74 and 1975-77



Violence

Violence is measured by the number of characters who hurt or kill others and who are hurt or are killed by other characters. In recent years the amount of hurting has increased significantly[24] but the amount of killing has declined.[25] (See tables A.3 and A.4 in appendix A.)

While all characters were hurting others and being hurt in greater proportions, the only statistically significant increases by group occurred among minority characters. Significantly more male and female characters hurt others in 1975 through 1977 than in the earlier period.[26]

Occupational Portrayals

The Cultural Indicators Research Project now uses two occupational coding categories. The first, in use since 1969, consists of nine broad categories: managers, professionals, sales workers, craftsmen, clerical workers, laborers, service workers, law enforcement personnel, and military personnel. Any television character who cannot be classified under one of these broad categories (for example, characters who are students, homemakers, or criminals, or who do not appear in any occupational setting) remains unidentified.

The second set of occupational coding categories (to be discussed subsequently) is more specific and provides a mechanism for counting the number of characters who are students, homemakers, or criminals, as well as a wide range of specific occupations normally found in the civilian labor force.

Major Occupational Categories

The patterns differentiating occupational portrayals in 1969–74 are substantially the same in 1975–77; occupations continue to be differentiated by gender and race. (See table A.5 in appendix A.)

Law enforcement is the occupation that continues most clearly to differentiate the sexes. (See figure 2.6.) The proportion of such roles in 1975–77 increased significantly as compared to 1969–74.[27] White male characters had the largest increase, so that 21.1 percent of all white male characters played law enforcement roles during the 3-year period.[28] Although the percentage of minority male law enforcement characters dropped slightly, 16.1 percent played these roles in 1975–77.

In the 1969–74 sample, white male characters were portrayed more frequently as professionals than were women and minorities. (See figure 2.6.) In the 1975–77 sample, this pattern was replaced by a majority-minority difference. Although the percentage of white male professionals decreased significantly,[29] the percentages of minority male and female professionals also decreased. The resulting pattern is a larger percentage of whites than minorities playing professional roles.[30]

Another pattern that differentiates majority from minority characters is the increase in the percentage of minority characters that could not be coded for one of the nine occupational categories.[31] Female characters generally are less frequently coded in occupations than male characters, but minority female characters are seen less often in occupations than majority female characters. Similarly, minority male characters are less often seen in occupations than majority male characters.[32] (See figure 2.7.)

---

[24] Characters who hurt others: $Z = 3.39$; $p = < .001$; characters who were hurt: $Z = 2.36$; $p = < .05$.

[25] The overall percentage of characters who were killed decreased by 9.9 percent: $Z = 2.13$; $p = < .05$.

[26] Minority male characters who hurt others: $Z = 3.54$; $p = < .001$. Minority female characters who hurt others: $Z = 2.03$; $p = < .05$.

[27] $Z = 3.85$; $p = < .001$.

[28] $Z = 4.54$; $p = < .001$.

[29] $Z = 3.27$; $p = < .01$.

[30] Judith Lemon, a researcher at Harvard University's Center for Research in Children's Television, studied dominance between male and female characters and black and white characters in the spring 1975 season. [Lemon used Sternglanz and Serbin's definition of dominance: "to influence or control others, to persuade, prohibit, dictate, to lead or direct, to restrain and to organize the behavior of the group." S.H. Sternglanz and L. Serbin, "An Analysis of the Sex Roles Presented on Children's Television Programs," *Developmental Psychology*, vol. 10, no. 5,, (1974), pp. 710–15.] While she found that males more frequently dominated females and whites more frequently dominated blacks, Lemon also reported that the occupational status of a character was a stronger predictor of dominance patterns than race or sex. When blacks or women were shown actually performing the functions of high status occupations, they were more frequently dominating and less frequently dominated than when occupational status was ignored. Lemon concluded: "Thus, if women and blacks are given more roles of higher occupational rank and, most important, shown working in the context of their job, inter-sex and inter-race dominance patterns would most likely change." Judith Lemon, "Women and Blacks on Prime-Time Television," *Journal of Communication*, vol. 27 (autumn 1977), pp. 70–79.

[31] Minority male characters who could not be coded for an occupation: $Z = 2.20$; $p = < .05$; minority females: $Z = 3.73$; $p = < .001$. The Cultural Indicators Research Project's broad occupational role coding system includes only those who are portrayed in a gainful, legal occupation outside the home in the civilian labor force.

[32] The 1975–76 Michigan State study reports that while women in television roles constituted 33 percent of all employed persons, they held 60.0 percent of the clerical occupations and 90.0 percent of the private household positions. In contrast, they held only 6.6 percent of managerial positions and 6.5 percent of the crafts positions. Blacks held 6.5 percent of the managerial positions, 5.6 percent of the professional positions, and none of the sales and crafts positions; however, they held 23.3 percent of the private household positions and 22.3 percent of the laborer positions. Simmons, et al., "Demography," tables 3 and 4. The Michigan State study did not cross-

Specific Occupational Titles

In addition to the broad categories discussed above, the Cultural Indicators Research Project has recently incorporated a set of coding categories for 60 different occupational categories (See table A.6 in appendix A). Although comparisons with the 1969–74 sample period are not possible using these data, they nevertheless provide a detailed picture of the ways in which majority and minority males and females are depicted.

Every character was classified in one of 60 separate occupational categories including 6 classifications for characters not appearing in a specific occupation (self-employed, retired, unemployed, mixed, other, and unknown). At least 1 majority male character was seen in each of the 60 categories. Majority females were seen in 50, minority males in 46, and minority females in 27. While more than one-quarter of all characters did not appear in identifiable occupations, majority males were least frequently unidentified and minority females were most frequently unidentified.[33]

An analysis of the 10 most frequent occupations for each group reveals that occupations are roughly similar for all four groups.[34] (See table 2.1.) The following are notable exceptions:

- Majority and minority males are both most frequently seen in police and criminal roles, while these roles are relatively infrequent for female characters;
- Males are seen as doctors while females are seen as nurses;
- The homemaker role is frequent for female characters but not for male characters;[35]
- Female characters are seen as secretaries but majority male characters are seen as managers;
- Female and minority characters are more frequently seen as students than are majority male characters;
- Minority characters are more frequently seen in service occupations (household work, hotel-restaurant service, and other service positions) than white characters;
- Majority male characters are seen more frequently as journalists and managers than women and minorities; and
- White male characters are seen in a far wider variety of occupations than are other characters.

Although women and minorities appear on first observation to be playing several roles similar to those of majority males, the eight differences noted here suggest that a considerable amount of sex and race stereotyping of occupations is occurring.

The occupational roles in which minority and female characters are portrayed are less diverse than those in which white male characters are portrayed. Television characters appeared in a total of 54 different occupations.[36] At least one white male character appeared in every one of them. Women and minorities (particularly minority women) were seen in substantially fewer of the various occupations portrayed—81.4 percent of the occupational roles were played by at least one white female character, 74.1 percent by minority male characters, and only 38.9 percent by minority female characters. The infrequency with which minorities and women appear in occupational roles compared to the frequency with which majority males appear in them is statistically significant.[37]

Minorities and women are even less likely to be seen in an occupational role during the family hour. While white male characters appear in the same number of occupational roles in family hour as they do later in the evening, all other groups appear in fewer occupational roles in family hour than they do in late evening. The difference is statistically significant only for minority males.[38] (See figure 2.8.)

Discussion

Television producers are under pressure to create exciting drama, for the more exciting the program the larger the audience is likely to be.[39] Inevitably,

tabulate by race and sex, so that it is not possible to determine portrayal differences between black and white women or between black men and women.

[33] The number of characters in the "unidentifiable" category is smaller than reported in the previous section because students, homemakers, and criminals are classified in the specific job title coding system, whereas using the nine broad categories scheme they remain unidentified.

[34] Five occupations appeared in the list of the 10 most frequent occupations of each of the four groups: criminal, student, hotel/restaurant service worker, self-employed, and unknown.

[35] Table A.6 in appendix A lists 0.1 percent of all white male characters and no minority male characters shown performing functions suggesting a homemaker role.

[36] In making these calculations only 54 occupational categories were used. Excluded were the 6 unidentifiable classifications: unknown, self-employed, unemployed, mixed, other, and retired.

[37] Majority female characters: $Z = 3.56$; $p = <.001$; minority male characters: $Z = 4.36$; $p = <.001$; minority female characters: $Z = 8.82$; $p = <.001$.

[38] Majority female characters: $Z = 1.60$; not significant at .05; minority male characters: $Z = 2.28$; $p = <.05$; minority female characters: $Z = 1.15$; not significant at .05.

[39] Various methods are used to measure potential audience response. Pilots are sometimes pretested by "skin tests measuring variations in the sweat of the palm"; others have audience members turn a dial ranging from very dull

the characters must be glamorous—the men must be tall and rugged, if not always handsome, and the women, young and beautiful. Their activities must be adventurous and thrilling. Detectives, for example, may fly to Las Vegas or sail to Catalina Island while solving a case.

Television drama is also frequently set in an upper middle class world. Broadcast historian Erik Barnouw explains that this is thought necessary so that commercials suggesting that we "move up" and "live better" will not look out of place: "The sponsors preferred beautiful people in mouth-watering *decor*, to convey what it meant to climb the socioeconomic ladder."[40]

Drama calling for an upper middle class lifestyle requires characters who have occupations to match: doctors, lawyers, judges, and managers of large companies, for example. Dramas calling for "action" need police and detectives and a variety of underworld figures. To be "interesting," television drama will inevitably glamorize these characters and their occupations.

It should be taken for granted that the fantasy land of television does not represent reality, occupational or otherwise. So long as television drama is going to portray fantasy, however, all groups should benefit similarly from fantasy-acquired status. If, for example, television drama overrepresents or glamorizes certain occupations, minorities and women should have opportunities comparable to those of white males to be portrayed in such positions. The opposite appears to be the case, however. Minorities and women appear less frequently than majority males in prestigious and glamorous occupations and are more frequently seen in various service positions and as students.

Race and gender job stereotyping has long been a fact of American occupational life and our fiction has often reflected it. To the extent that television serves as a creator or reinforcer of beliefs about the kinds of occupations that are appropriate for people, it plays a negative role in regard to minorities and women.[41]

Public school textbooks have also played such a role. They contain numerous occupational stereotypes both in the text and in their illustrations. Unlike television's leaders, however, several major textbook manufacturers have determined that such stereotyping should be eliminated and have issued detailed guidelines to that effect. In September 1976 the school division of the New York-based Association of American Publishers issued a "Statement on Bias-Free Materials" that noted the importance of textbooks in children's lives and their potential to instill in children various cultural values. Acknowledging that race and sex stereotypes had been pervasive in many school materials, the association noted that many publishers had issued guidelines to eliminate stereotyping and asserted its belief that a basic commitment to eliminate stereotyping was shared by all publishers.[42] Among its suggestions for overcoming previous negative bias was to "promote opportunities for placing women and minority group members in positions of prominence, leadership, and centrality."

The policy of many textbook publishers to take steps not only to eliminate negative stereotypes but to create positive images of women and minorities is in sharp contrast to the stereotyping that continues on network television, where women and minorities are underrepresented in sheer numbers and in the kinds of roles they play.

---

to very good. Writers have learned that certain devices always increase the interest level. Among them are these: small children, dogs, car chases, and sex. Barnouw, *The Sponsor*, pp. 113–14.

[40] Ibid., pp. 106–07.

[41] A study reporting occupational attitudes and knowledge of a panel of 216 predominantly white suburban/rural New Jersey junior high school children revealed that most of their knowledge about six occupations—doctor, psychiatrist, paramedic, judge, lawyer, police—came from television. When asked to select appropriate people to fill those occupations from a set of 40 photographs of white or black, young or old, women and men, the children "overwhelmingly" selected men. The only occupation in which women were selected more frequently than they appear on television was psychiatrist—14 percent. While blacks were usually selected as frequently as they appear on television, no blacks were selected to be doctors. Suzanne Jeffries-Fox and Nancy Signorielli, "Television and Children's Concepts of Occupations" (paper presented at the Sixth Annual Telecommunications Policy Conference, Airlie House, Virginia, May 11, 1978), pp. 16, 20.

[42] See, for example, "American Book Co. Guidelines for the Positive and Equal Treatment of the Sexes and of Minority and Ethnic Groups" (New York, N.Y.: American Book Company, n.d.); "Charles A. Bennett, Co. Policy on Racism and Sexism" (Peoria, Ill.: Charles A. Bennett, Co. Inc., n.d.); "Educators Publishing Service, Textbook Guidelines," (Cambridge, Mass.: Educators Publishing Services, Inc., 1977); "Far West Lab.: Analyzing Children's Books from a Chicano Perspective" and "Far West Lab.: Analyzing Children's Books with a Black Perspective" (San Francisco, Calif.: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1977); "Ginn and Company Treatment of Women and Minority Groups" (Lexington, Mass.: Ginn and Company, 1975); "Harper and Row Guidelines" (New York, N.Y.: Harper and Row Publishers, n.d.); "Holt, Rinehart, & Winston Guidelines for the Development of Elementary and Secondary Instructional Materials: The Treatment of Sex Roles" (New York, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, n.d.); "McGraw-Hill Multiethnic Guidelines" and "Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes in McGraw-Hill Book Company Publications" (New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1973); "Macmillan Guidelines for Creating Positive Sexual and Racial Images in Educational Materials" (New York, N.Y.: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975); "Open Court In-house Guidelines Ensuring Racial, Cultural and Sexual Fairness" (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court Publishing Company, n.d.); "Scott, Foresman & Co. Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks" (New York, N.Y.: Scott, Foresman & Co., n.d.).

FIGURE 2.6
Percentages of Characters in Selected Occupational Roles, 1969-74 and 1975-77

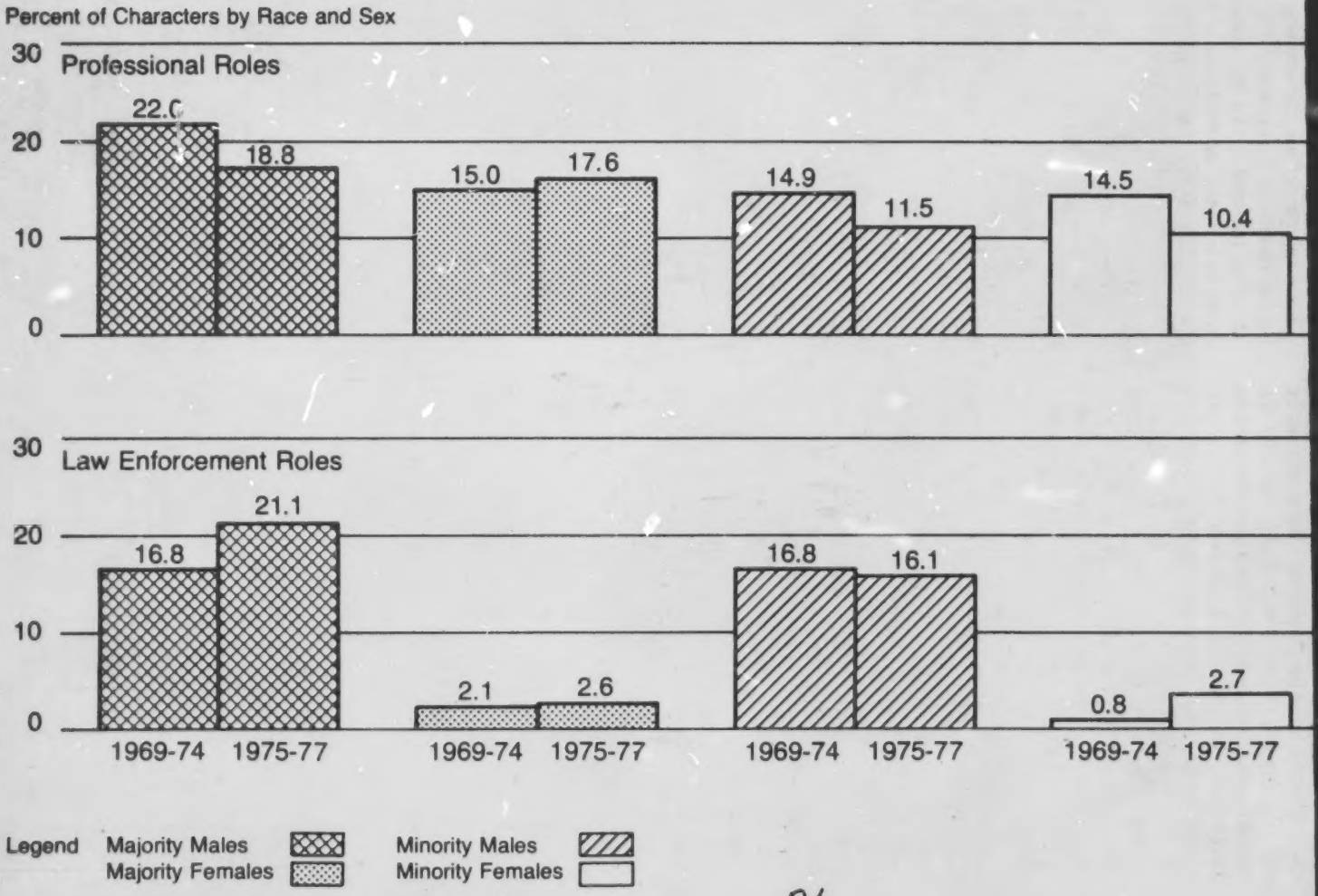


FIGURE 2.7

Percentages of Characters Whose Occupations Could Not be Identified, 1969-74 and 1975-77 (Broad Occupational Categories Data)

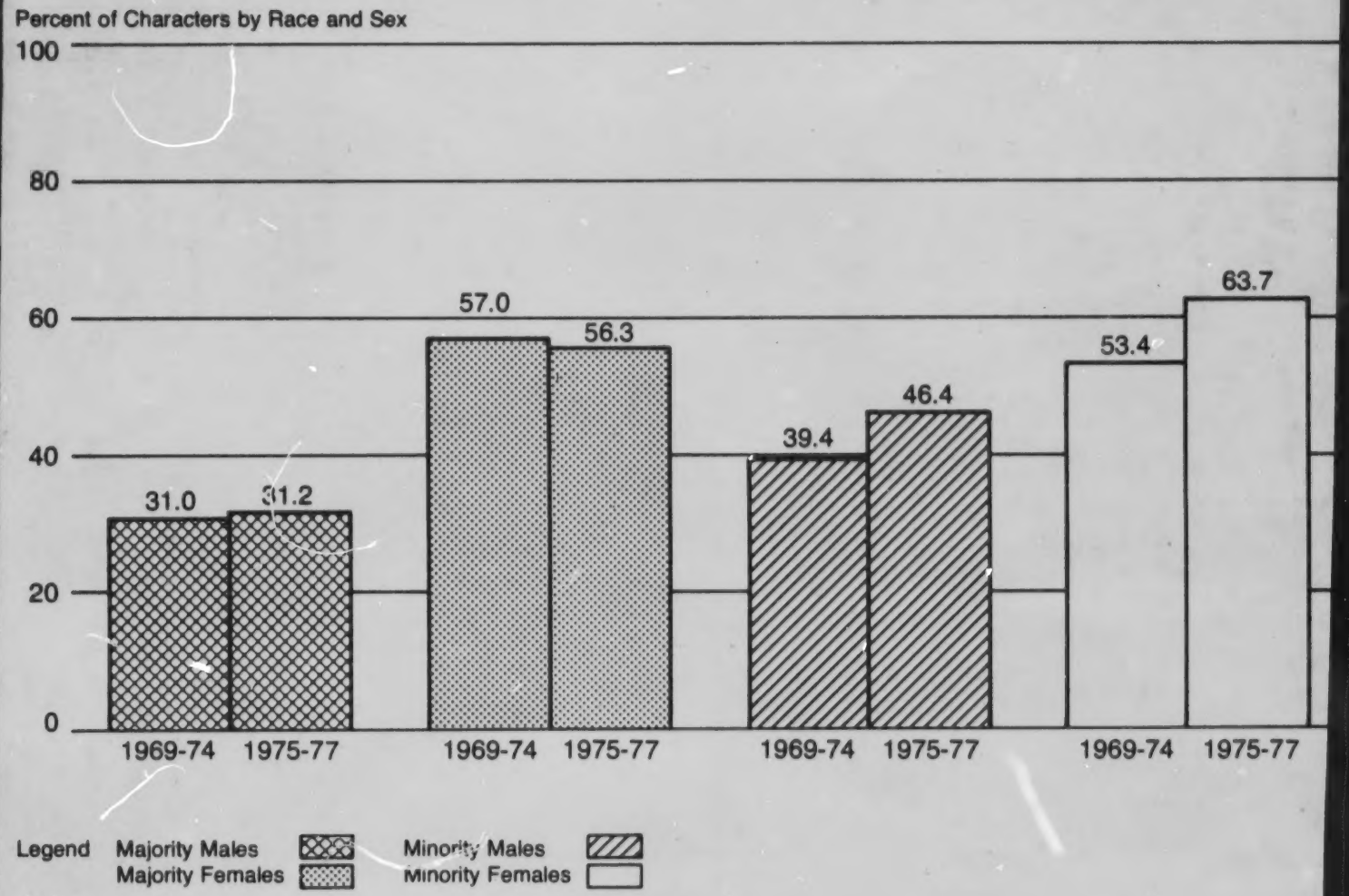


Table 2.1
The 10 Most Frequently Appearing Occupations by Race and Sex[1]
(Specific Occupation Title Data)
1975–77

Majority Male		Majority Female		Minority Male		Minority Female	
Occupation	Percent	Occupation	Percent	Occupation	Percent	Occupation	Percent
1. Police	16.0	1. Unknown [2]	32.3	1. Unknown [2]	19.8	1. Unknown [2]	37.4
2. Unknown [2]	13.3	2. Secretary	7.3	2. Police	15.1	2. Student	10.4
3. Criminal	8.0	3. Student	6.4	3. Criminal	8.2	3. Homemaker	6.0
4. Self-Employed	4.8	4. Homemaker	5.5	4. Other	7.0	4. Household Worker	6.0
5. Doctor	3.8	5. Nurse	4.8	5. Student	5.8	5. Nurse	4.9
6. Enlisted/Noncom	3.8	6. Criminal	3.4	6. Self-employed	5.6	6. Criminal	3.8
7. Student	3.4	7. Unemployed	2.7	7. Miscellaneous Service Worker	3.7	7. Secretary	3.3
8. Miscellaneous Managers	3.2	8. Hotel/Restaurant Service Worker	2.5	8. Doctor	2.7	8. Self-employed	2.7
9. Journalist	2.5	9. Military Nurse	2.4	9. Hotel/Restaurant Service Worker	2.7	9. Hotel/Restaurant Service Worker	2.7
10. Hotel/Restaurant Service Worker	2.2	10. [Police; Household Worker; Self-employed]	1.7	10. Enlisted/Noncom	1.9	10. Other	2.7
SUBTOTAL	61.0		72.4		72.5		79.9
50 other occupations	39.0	38 other occupations	27.6	36 other occupations	27.5	17 other occupations	20.1
TOTAL	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0

[1] See table A.6 in appendix A for all occupations by race, sex, and time of evening.
[2] The Unknown category includes all those characters for whom no occupational information is available.

The Screen Actors Guild—which has a direct interest in the number and quality of roles available on television for its member actors—has claimed that both minorities and women are systematically overlooked when casting decisions are made unless the role specifically calls for a minority or a woman. Sumi Haru, who chairs the ethnic minorities committee of the Screen Actors Guild, commenting on preliminary results of a survey of minority actors, announced that the study shows "beyond a doubt that there is a dire lack of roles for non-white. . .persons. More, it shows that there aren't even talent interviews for such people."[43] Haru illustrated her charges of bias by asserting that only whites are invited to apply for roles that "do not call specifically for a member of a particular race—a lawyer for instance." Norma Connolly, co-chair of the women's conference committee of the guild, agreed that female actors face a similar problem. "In real life you find women lawyers practicing, but if the script doesn't specify that the role must go to a woman, in casting they'll ask for men."[44]

Conclusion

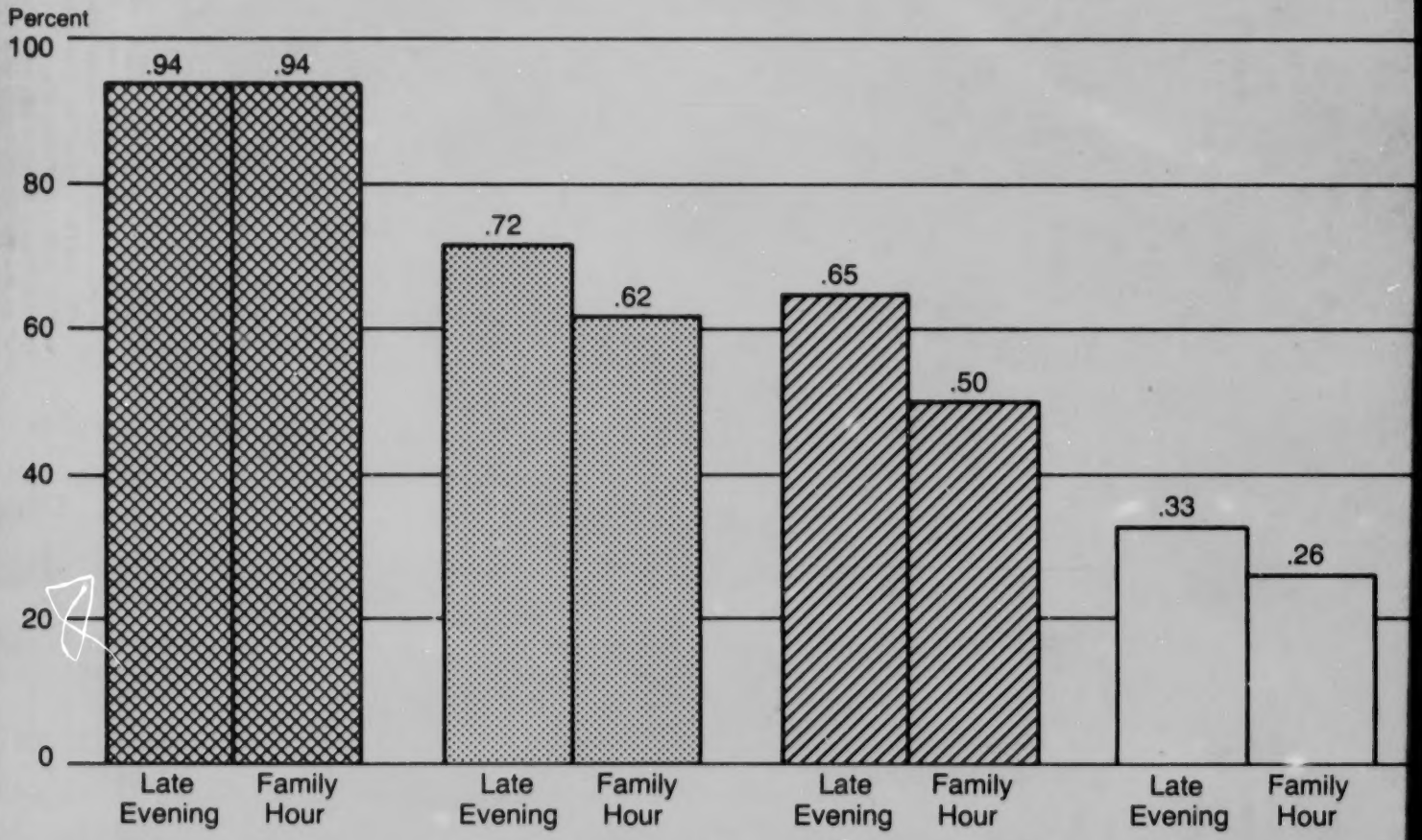
The data presented in this chapter show that race and sex stereotyping in television drama continues. The percentage of white female characters has fluctuated throughout the years between 25.1 percent in 1969 and 26.6 percent in 1977 with an average for the 9-year period of 24.2 percent. The percentage of minority characters in 1976 (10.9 percent) was lower than at any time since 1971 (10.4 percent), although it increased significantly in 1977 (15.1 percent).[45] Minorities other than blacks continue to appear only rarely in television drama.[46] The virtual absence from the television screen of minorities other than

[43] Bill Mayer, "Is There a SAG in Minority Hiring for TV Roles?" *Variety*, Aug. 24, 1977, pp. 35, 48.
[44] Ibid.

[45] $Z = 2.83$; $p = < .01$.
[46] The Michigan State University study attempted to count specific minority characters. Hispanics, for example, constituted 1.8 percent of all

FIGURE 2.8

Percentages of Characters Appearing in Occupational Roles During Family Hour and Late Evening



1. 100% = 54 occupational categories. Six categories are excluded from this figure: unknown, self-employed, unemployed, mixed, other and retired.

blacks suggests to the general viewing public that these minorities constitute an insignificant presence in this Nation.

Stereotypes appeared in the same pattern as in the 1969 through 1974 period, as age and occupational status of characters continued to be differentiated by race and sex. In some cases, stereotyping has actually intensified. This is most vividly seen in the increase of minority male characters in comic roles amid a general decline in the number of characters seen in such roles. The high percentage of comic roles lends support to the claim that minorities are often portrayed in ridiculous roles and are not depicted as seriously as whites. The disproportionately high percentage of minority teenagers compared to male teenagers lends support to the suggestion that minorities are portrayed as youths rather than as adults so as not to threaten white audiences.[47]

The disproportionately high percentages of 21- to 30-year-old majority and minority female characters and the statistically significant increase in the percentage of white female 21- to 30-year-olds provide support for the claim that women are increasingly being stereotyped on television as sexy "girls."[48]

television characters in its sample of the 1975 television season. Simmons, et al., "Demography," table 1. Hispanics are a substantial minority group (including persons of Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Central and South American origin) who in 1976 constituted 11.1 million persons or 5.3 percent of the United States population. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Population Characteristics, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1976*, Series P-20, No. 310, July 1977, p. 1.

[47] Greenberg, "A Three-Season Analysis," p. 20.

[48] In response to this discussion of the ways in which minorities and women are portrayed on television, the Federal Communications Commission has stated the following:

> We believe that the conclusions drawn by CCR from the stated compilations cannot be readily accepted without an analysis of the actual programs monitored and an assessment of the subjective determinations made by the monitors.

A detailed discussion of the methodology used in collecting the data in this chapter and their reliability appears at the end of appendix A. Among other things, this statement demonstrates that monitors—in this case *coders*—do not make subjective determinations.

Chapter 3

Minorities and Women in Network Television News

Window Dressing reported that an analysis of a sample of news programs broadcast by each of the networks during the years 1974 and 1975[1] yielded the following results: women and minorities rarely appeared in the news,[2] they rarely reported the news,[3] and news specifically about the problems or accomplishments of minorities and women was broadcast infrequently.[4]

This Commission was interested in learning whether the percentages of minority and female network news correspondents have increased since the 1974–75 period. Do women and minorities make the news more frequently now? Is there more news about their accomplishments or their problems? To answer these questions, a second study of network news was conducted, again using a sample of news programs broadcast on each of the networks, on five widely scattered dates in 1977.[5] The procedures and methodology[6] remained substantially the same as in the 1974–75 sample. New this time is an analysis of correspondents appearing on the news of each of the networks during the entire year of 1977, as recorded by the Vanderbilt University Television News Archives. This analysis was conducted to validate the findings regarding the percentages of minority and female correspondents appearing on each of the networks.

News Content

Topics of News Stories

A total of 330 stories were broadcast on the 15 news programs analyzed. NBC reported 114 stories (34.5 percent), while ABC broadcast 111 (33.6 percent), and CBS provided 105 (31.8 percent). Of the 330 stories, only 8 (2.4 percent) were classified as relating in some specific way to women and minorities. This is considerably fewer than the 5.2 percent found in the 1974–75 study when 12 of 230 stories specifically related to women and minorities.

Of the eight stories, four appeared on ABC, three on NBC, and one on CBS. NBC reported on the *Bakke* case, on Congressional Black Caucus opposition to President Carter's nominee for Attorney General, and on Federal funds for abortion. ABC also had a report on the Congressional Black Caucus. The other stories on ABC concerned a woman who was ordained as a priest—the only story concerning a woman's accomplishments—and a Labor Department threat to withdraw funds from a bank that employed too few minorities and women. In a report on bombings in New York by FALN (a Puerto

[1] The sample consisted of a composite week of news broadcasts selected randomly from dates during the year beginning March 1974 and ending February 1975. *Window Dressing*, p. 49.

[2] White males constituted 78.7 percent of all newsmakers. Ibid., p. 52.

[3] White males constituted 85.9 percent of all individual correspondents and 88.6 percent of all correspondent appearances. Ibid., pp. 50–51.

[4] Twelve stories out of 230 were about minorities and women, 5.2 percent. Ibid., p. 50.

[5] The 1977 sample was composed of broadcasts on the following randomly selected dates: Monday, April 25; Tuesday, August 23; Wednesday, August 3; Thursday, January 6; and Friday, May 27. Broadcasts on each of the three networks were analyzed for these dates, using videotapes of each news program obtained from the Vanderbilt University Television News Archives. Vanderbilt University videotapes all network news shows broadcast by the network-affiliated stations located in Nashville, Tenn. Copies of these tapes may be borrowed for limited periods for study purposes. In all, 15 news programs (5 from each network) were analyzed.

[6] For a detailed discussion of the methodology used for the first study see *Window Dressing*, p. 49. In the current study, the methodology and procedures remained the same, with the following exceptions: (1) Content analysis was conducted by this Commission at Howard University using as coders graduate students or advanced undergraduates in communications from American University, Howard University, and the University of Maryland; and (2) the category "expert" was added to the list of newsmakers, which had included only "government official," "public figure," "criminal," and "private individual." Coders, who worked in two-person teams, received 6 hours training. Every news program was coded by two different pairs of coders, working independently. One hundred percent agreement was reached regarding the sex and race/ethnicity of correspondents and newsmakers. In several cases coders did not agree on whether a newsmaker was a public figure or a private individual. These cases were resolved by the independent judgment of the project director.

Rican organization), ABC provided a background story on the problems of Puerto Rico. Finally, a CBS story on welfare reform was tangentially pertinent to women because it contained a film clip of a U.S. Senator warning about the possibility of mothers getting on welfare early and staying on it. While ABC and NBC also covered this story, neither carried the Senator's reference to "welfare mothers."

Two of the eight stories pertaining to minorities and women were reported by minority or female correspondents. The ABC story concerning the Department of Labor threat to withdraw funds from a bank was reported by former anchor Barbara Walters. The NBC report on abortion legislation was covered by correspondent Mary Alice Williams. The other stories related to minorities and women were all reported by white males.

One measure of a story's importance is its position in the program. The first three stories are considered the most important and receive greatest emphasis.[7] In the sampled broadcasts, only one story regarding women and minorities was placed among the first three in a program. This was the one providing background information on problems of Puerto Rico that ABC included in the story of FALN bombings in New York. Three of the stories were placed in the middle (fourth through eighth position) and the remaining four (half of the total) appeared in ninth through last position. In addition, the stories relating to minorities and women were significantly shorter than average. The mean length of all news stories was 128 seconds, whereas the mean length of stories on women and minorities was 73 seconds, or about 40 percent shorter than average.

In sum, few stories in the random sample of 15 news broadcasts on five widely scattered dates in 1977 dealt with minorities and women, and both the absolute number and relative percentage of stories about them has decreased since 1974–75. There was only one story about the accomplishments of a woman and none about accomplishments of minorities. The few stories about minorities and women tended to occur late in the programs and to be shorter than average.

[7] The five longest stories (each over 7 minutes) all appeared among the first three; of the 65 stories that were 4 minutes or longer, 73.8 percent were among the first three; of the 104 shortest stories (less than 1 minute), only 11 (10.6 percent) appeared in the first three. See *Window Dressing*, p. 50, for further discussion of this point.

Newsmakers

The second aspect of the analysis of network news focused on newsmakers. To be coded as a "newsmaker," an individual had to appear either in slides, graphics, film, or taped segments of the news story and be mentioned by name by the anchor or correspondent. A total of 249 newsmakers appeared on the sampled broadcasts. Of these, 88.4 percent were white males, white females accounted for 6.8 percent, minority males for 4.4 percent, and minority females for 0.4 percent of the total. The percentage of white male newsmakers has increased significantly since the 1974–75 study.[8] The percentage of minority female newsmakers has decreased significantly.[9]

Twelve of the minority and female newsmakers appeared on NBC, 10 appeared on CBS, and 7 appeared on ABC. One minority male appeared on ABC (a reference to Clifford Alexander as a possible first black Secretary of the Army). The other 10 minority males were divided equally between CBS and NBC. The one minority female newsmaker was Patricia Roberts Harris, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who appeared in a CBS story about new Presidential cabinet appointees and proposed ethics regulations.

Two of the minority male newsmakers appeared more than once. United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young appeared twice on CBS and once on NBC. A black juror appeared on CBS and on NBC in stories about the Maryland Governor's trial on bribery and corruption charges. In addition, two white females appeared more than once. The Maryland Governor's wife was on ABC and CBS, and First Lady Rosalynn Carter appeared twice on ABC and once on each of the other two networks.

Newsmaker Roles

To determine the capacities in which minorities and women appeared in the news, newsmakers were categorized either as government officials, public figures, criminals, private individuals, or experts. (See figure 3.1 and table B.1 in appendix B.) As was true in 1974–75, government officials[10] were the roles most frequently covered, representing 53.0 percent of all newsmakers. The vast majority continue to be white males. The only white female government officials were Midge Costanza, President Carter's

[8] $Z = 2.50$; $p = <.05$.

[9] $Z = 2.38$; $p = <.05$.

[10] To be classified as a "government official" a newsmaker had to be identified as working for Federal, State, or local government.

former advisor on issues related to women, who appeared in a story on abortion legislation, and Juanita Kreps, Secretary of Commerce, in a story on the ethics of cabinet appointees. The minority male government officials were Parren Mitchell, Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus; a Hispanic policeman being interviewed about the investigation of the "Son of Sam" murders; and Andrew Young, Ambassador to the United Nations, who appeared three times. Patricia Roberts Harris, who appeared in the same story as Juanita Kreps, was the only minority female newsmaker in the 1977 sample.

There were 34 public figures.[11] Majority males constituted 76.5 percent of them, but majority females accounted for only 20.6 percent and the one minority male accounted for the rest, only 2.9 percent. The three white females all appeared in the role of wife. The Maryland Governor's wife appeared twice in the coverage of her husband's trial, and Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, who appeared four times, was covered by all three networks accompanying the President aboard a nuclear submarine. She also gave an interview to ABC's Margaret Osmer on a January 6 broadcast about the role she intended to play as an advisor to her husband during his presidency. Lynn Fontanne appeared as the wife of Alfred Lunt in a story on his death. The minority male classified as a public figure was Duke Ellington, who was mentioned in a story on the "big bands."

There were 41 "criminals" on the sampled broadcasts;[12] all were white males. The increase in the percentage of white males seen as "criminals" is statistically significant.[13]

Private citizens[14] accounted for 12.4 percent of the newsmakers. The white female private citizens were all seen as victims of circumstance: there were two flood victims, two murder victims, an emphysema sufferer, and a woman who complained that air pollution made it difficult to keep the outside of her house clean. The minority male private citizens included a black juror in the Mandel trial (who appeared twice), a Hispanic man whose home was destroyed by fire, Clifford Alexander (mentioned as a possible sub-Cabinet appointee), and an Alaskan Native in a story on land use in Alaska.

Window Dressing reported that white women appeared as experts[15] in only two stories, both on issues specifically related to women—abortion and the Dalkon Shield, a contraceptive device for women. No minority newsmakers appeared in the role of expert. In the 1977 sample, only one white woman appeared in the role of expert, a lawyer from the ACLU discussing Federal funds for abortion in a story on NBC. As was the case in 1974–75, no minority newsmakers (male or female) appeared as experts.

In sum, the percentage of minority and female newsmakers in the sample has declined somewhat since 1974–75. White males continue to dominate the news, especially as government officials. Females, both white and minority, continue to be shown primarily in two roles: as victims or as wives and mothers.[16] In 1974–75 minority females appeared almost exclusively as victims of economic deprivation; in 1977 all of the white female private citizens appeared as victims of one kind or another. As before, most of the female public figures made the news simply because they were married to someone well known. Juanita Kreps and Patricia Roberts Harris, two of the three female government officials, were, during the period sampled, merely mentioned in a list of new Cabinet appointees; in contrast to numerous white and a few minority male government officials, only one female government official (Midge Costanza) appeared in the news doing her job. Although minority males fared somewhat better—Andrew Young and Parren Mitchell were both shown acting in an official capacity—the number of minority male government officials in the news stories sampled is still small.

News Correspondents

The Commission's Sample

A total of 90 correspondents appeared in the sampled news programs. Of these, 74 (82.2 percent) were white males, 9 (10.0 percent) were white females, 7 (7.8 percent) were minority males. The minority males included 3 blacks, 2 Hispanics, 1 American Indian, and 1 Asian American. No minority females appeared in the sample. While these

[11] To be classified as a "public figure" a newsmaker had to be identified as a celebrity or to be married to a well-known government official.

[12] "Criminals" were all newsmakers who were identified as having been accused of committing a crime or as having been found guilty of committing a crime.

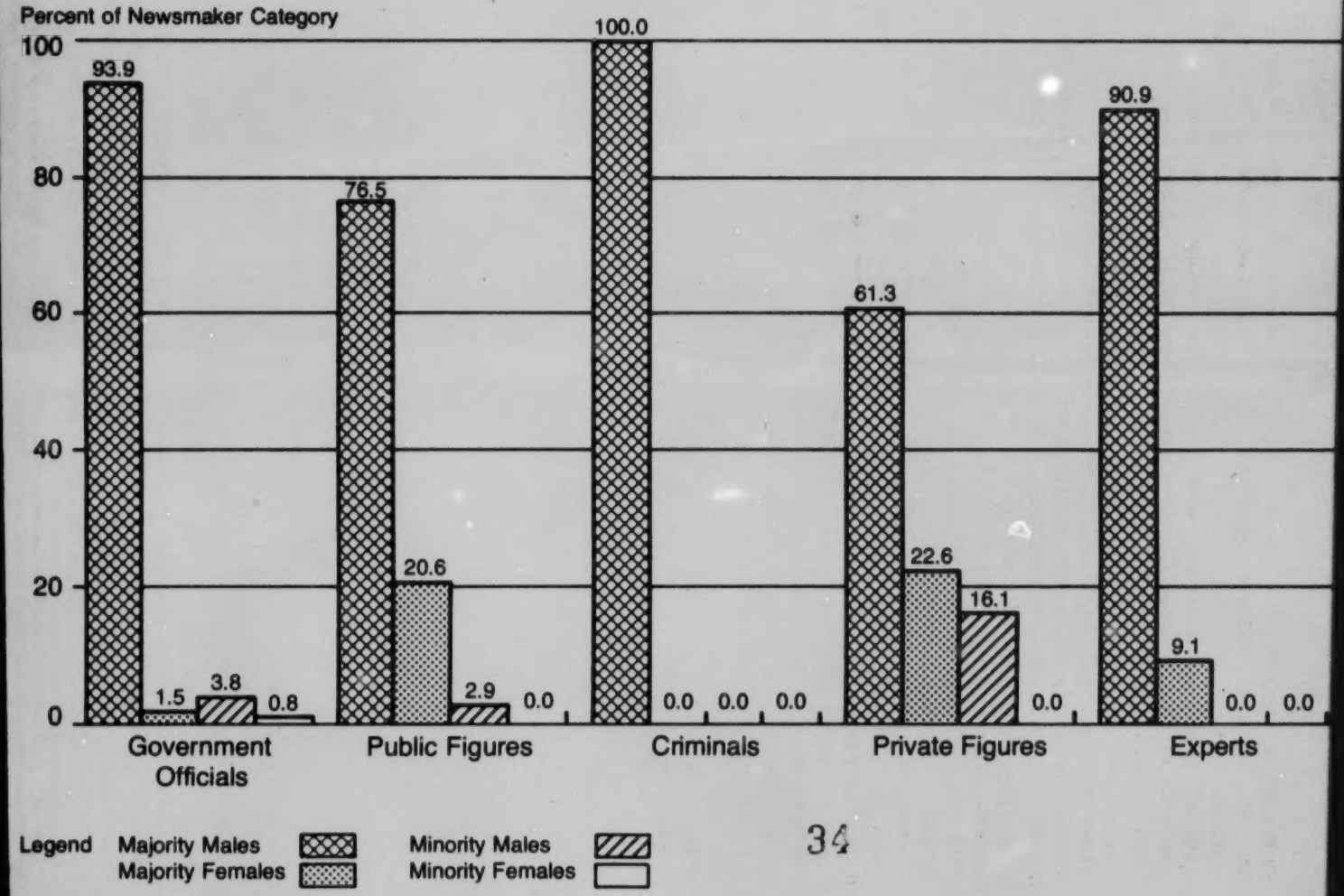
[13] $Z = 3.42$; $p = < .01$.

[14] "Private citizens" were newsmakers unknown to the general public but deemed newsworthy because of their relation to an issue or event of public importance.

[15] "Experts" were those newsmakers from the private sector appearing as authority figures and presenting information. "Experts" had been classified as "public figures" in *Window Dressing*, p. 52.

[16] *Window Dressing*, p. 53.

FIGURE 3.1
Distributions by Race and Sex Within Newsmaker Categories, 1977



percentages vary somewhat from the 1974–75 sample, none of these differences was statistically significant.

The 90 correspondents made a total of 124 appearances on the sampled broadcasts. (See figure 3.2.) White males appeared 102 times, white female correspondents appeared a total of 11 times, and minority males also made a total of 11 appearances. Although the percentage of minority male correspondent appearances has increased significantly,[17] the percentage of minority female correspondent appearances has dropped to zero. This was a significant decrease.[18] As previously mentioned, there were no minority female correspondents in the Commission's 1977 sample.[19]

Minority male and white female correspondents more often reported stories of national and international importance in 1977 than formerly. In 1974–75, most of the stories they reported pertained to issues relating directly to minorities and women. However, of the 11 stories reported by female correspondents in 1977, only 1 (a story of Federal funds for abortions) dealt directly with women. Similarly, most of the stories reported by minority male correspondents were of national or international significance, not specifically related to minorities or women. For instance, Al Johnson reported on a coal strike and on urban problems in Kansas City. David Garcia reported on President Carter's cruise on a nuclear submarine and on the 50th anniversary of the Sacco and Vanzetti trial. Sam Ford reported on murders in New York City and Ed Bradley reported on a clean air bill.

Several white female correspondents reported on Jimmy Carter's victory in the Presidential election, problems in Zaire, HEW attempts to control hospital costs, and a train seige in Holland. Other stories covered by white female correspondents included a story about CIA drug experiments on college campuses, the FALN bombing in New York City, a Presidential news conference, President Carter's cruise on a nuclear submarine, and welfare reform.

A measure of the importance of the national and international stories covered by minority and female correspondents is that 11 of the stories (50.0 percent) were among the first 3 stories broadcast during the programs. Nine of the appearances (40.9 percent) were among the fourth through eighth stories, while only two (9.1 percent) were in the ninth through last stories.

In summary, although the percentage of white male correspondents declined slightly from 1974–75, they continue to constitute the great majority of correspondents. The percentage of minority male correspondent appearances increased significantly, but no minority female correspondents appeared in the 1977 sample. Minority males and white females more often reported stories of national and international importance than in the 1974–75 sample, and they more often appeared in the first three stories and were less frequently limited to news about minorities and women.

Analysis of all Correspondents Appearing in 1977

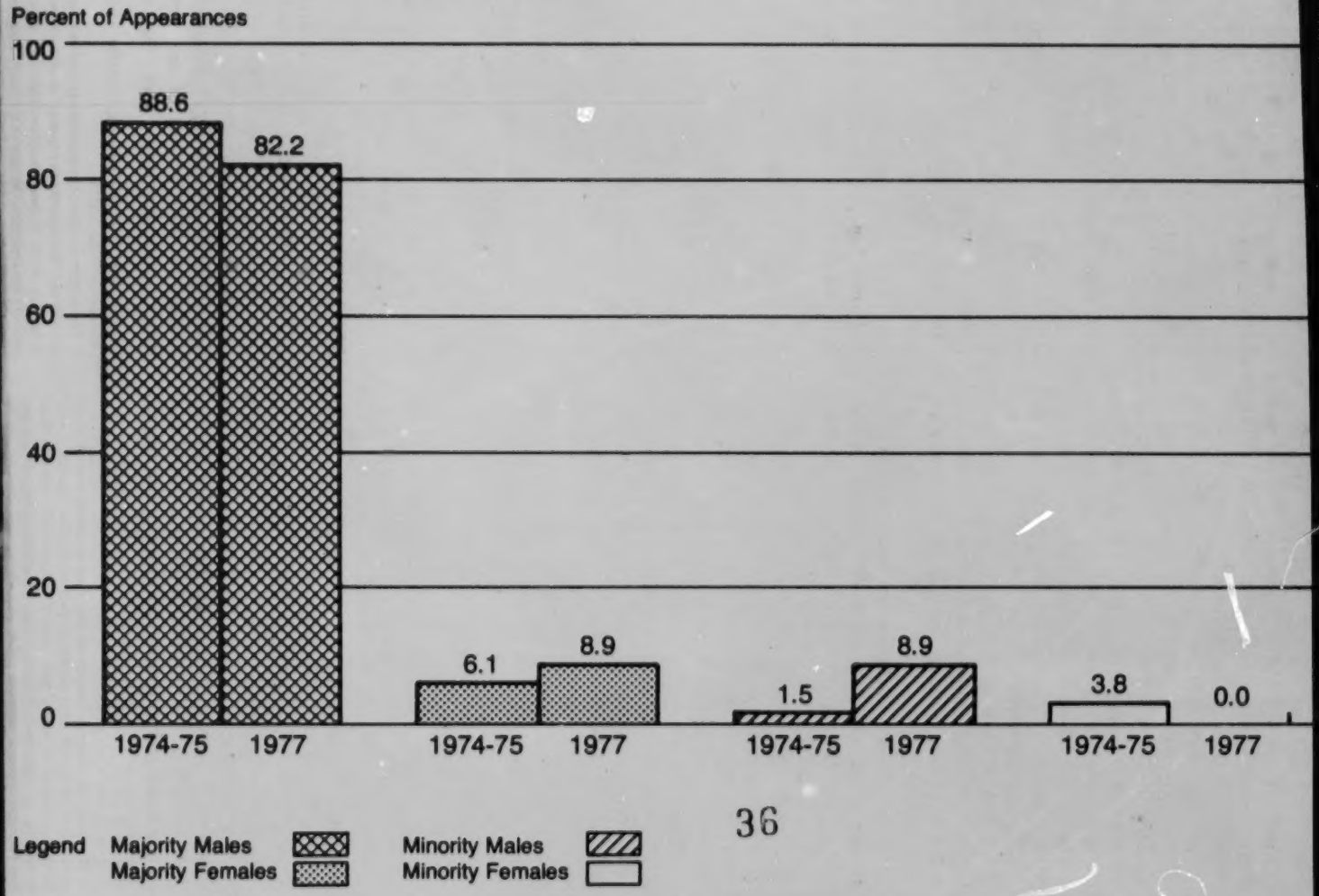
Vanderbilt University, through its Television News Archives, prepares an index of each of the news programs broadcast by ABC, CBS, and NBC that are carried by their affiliates in Nashville, Tennessee.[20] In addition to abstracting each news item, Vanderbilt lists the length of the item and the name of the correspondent who reported it.

Using these abstracts, the names of each of the correspondents who reported a story during 1977 were enumerated. These were subdivided by sex on the basis of the correspondent's first name. This subdivision was validated by name recognition for all but the most infrequently appearing female correspondents, 19 of whom appeared only once during the entire year. A comparable analysis of minority correspondents was planned, but could not be conducted because the racial and ethnic identity of all correspondents could not be determined.[21]

In the Commission's sample of 15 widely separated news programs broadcast on 5 days in 1977, majority and minority male correspondents combined accounted for 91.1 percent of the appearances, and female correspondents were the remaining 8.8

[17] $Z = 2.43$; $p = <.05$.
[18] $Z = 2.18$; $p = <.05$.
[19] Relatively few minority women are employed as correspondents at the networks; some appear more frequently than others. For example, Carole Simpson appeared on *NBC Nightly News* 47 times in 1977; however, CBS' Renee Poussaint appeared 18 times, Jackie Casselberry appeared 13 times, Lee Thornton appeared 10 times, and Connie Chung appeared once during the entire year. See table B.3 in appendix B.
[20] "Television News Index and Abstracts," Vanderbilt Television News Archives, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tenn., January through December 1977, pp. 1–2555.
[21] The number of male correspondents proved very large; for example, 131 different male correspondents appeared on all three networks in the month of January. Some of these correspondents were unknown to project staff. Although the staff knew the race or ethnicity of most of the correspondents by name recognition, race or ethnicity could not be reliably determined for all. This part of the study was therefore abandoned.

FIGURE 3.2
Distribution of Correspondent Appearances by Race and Sex, 1974-75 and 1977



percent. The percentage of appearances of male correspondents during the entire year was only slightly lower at 89.6 percent, whereas female appearances accounted for 10.4 percent. (See table B.2 in appendix B for data on correspondent appearances by network, month, and sex.) These percentages are not significantly different from those in the sample.[22]

The specific female correspondents and the number of times they reported the news each month were also enumerated. (See table B.3 in appendix B.) Overall, NBC had by far the largest number of female correspondent appearances with 268; CBS followed with 228, and ABC had 211. The largest number of appearances in a month, 11, was attained by Marilyn Berger, formerly of NBC, in February and April and matched by Ann Compton of ABC in August. The largest number for a CBS correspondent was nine appearances by Leslie Stahl in July. Typically, a female correspondent appeared about 1.8 times per month on CBS, 2.5 times per month on ABC, and 3.0 times per month on NBC.

Comparison of the number of female and male correspondents who appeared at least once during the month of January[23] shows that there were considerably fewer female than male correspondents. ABC had 39 male but only 5 female correspondents; CBS had 53 male but only 11 female correspondents; and NBC had 39 male but only 7 female correspondents. Moreover, the female correspondents made fewer appearances in relation to their actual numbers than the men did.[24] The overall percentage of male correspondents was 85.1 percent, but the percentage of their appearances was 89.6. (See figure 3.3 for comparisons by network.)

Discussion

Women and Minorities as Anchors

Increasingly, women and minorities are appearing on the network news as anchor. Women have achieved this prestigious status on evening news programs more frequently than minorities; however, their tenure in that role has often been brief. ABC was the first network to use a female anchor, Marlene Sanders, who appeared for a brief period in 1964. Subsequently, in the summer of 1971, she anchored the ABC Saturday night *Weekend News*, filling in for the male anchor who was away on a temporary assignment.[25] Walters was the first woman to fill an anchor role on a relatively permanent basis.

Both Sanders and Walters have commented on the prejudice they have experienced. When Reuven Frank, president of NBC, told *Newsweek* in 1971 that "audiences are less prepared to accept news from a woman's voice than from a man's,"[26] Sanders commented, "They will always come up with some theory about why it cannot work."[27]

Responding to a survey of newswomen conducted by Alfred I. Dupont and Columbia University, Walters was pessimistic about the future of women as anchors:

> I don't see the day we'll have a woman anchor alone. If Harry Reasoner were to leave, there would be no question about me doing it alone. They would bring in a man. At NBC they made the decision to take off Jim Hartz, but they made Tom Brokaw the co-host. But [after I left] they made Tom Brokaw the host and put the woman [Jane Pauley] in a subsidiary position. . . .They will not accept a woman as the head of the program. I can't imagine two females doing the news, as Chancellor and Brinkley. Of course they allow a woman alone on Sunday, but that's throwaway time.[28]

Lynn Sherr, formerly anchor of the PBS news and public affairs program, *U.S.A.: People and Politics*, concurred in Walter's opinion: "Think of the possibility of two women anchors on a network news broadcast and you'll understand we're still in the Ice Age."[29]

Several other women have appeared in the anchor role on the national news. Jessica Savitch anchors the *NBC Sunday Night News* and occasionally substitutes

[22] $Z = 0.54$.

[23] Due to the large number of male correspondents it proved infeasible to itemize the appearances of each male correspondent for more than one month.

[24] This difference was not apparent in the Commission's sample of broadcasts, where males accounted for 90.0 percent of the correspondents and 91.1 percent of the appearances.

[25] Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), p. 175. Marzolf's book is a history of women in journalism from the colonial beginnings of the Nation to the present, with a lengthy chapter on female television correspondents and the problems they have faced.

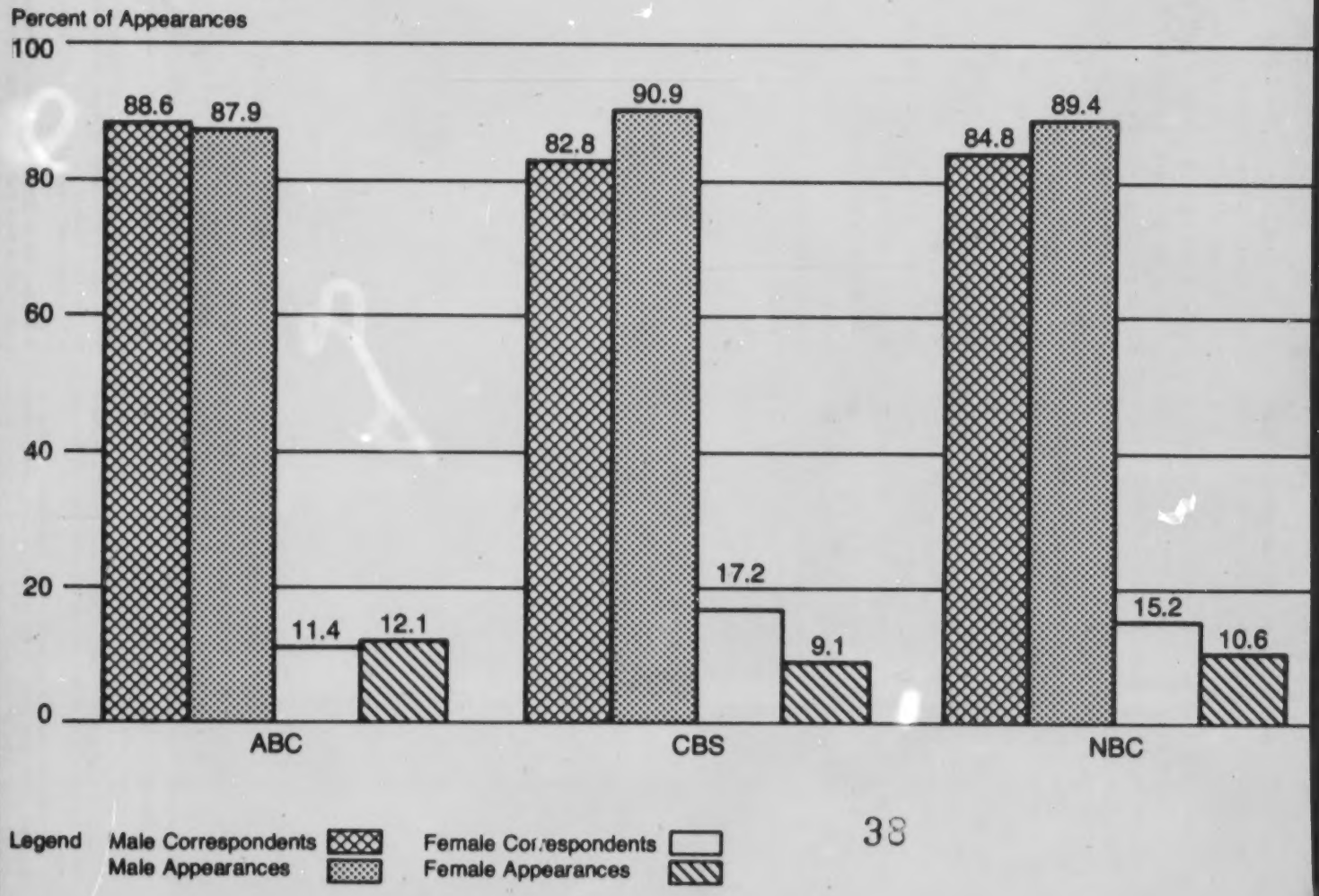
[26] "The New Breed," *Newsweek*, Aug. 30, 1971, p. 63.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Barbara Murray Eddings, "Women in Broadcasting: De Jure, De Facto," in *Rich News, Poor News*, ed. Marvin Barrett (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1978), p. 156.

[29] Ibid.

FIGURE 3.3
Correspondents and Correspondent Appearances by Sex and Network, January 1977



on the *NBC Nightly News.* Preceding her in the *NBC Sunday Night News* slot was Catherine Mackin.[30] Leslie Stahl co-anchors *The CBS Morning News* at 7 a.m., and Sylvia Chase co-anchors *The ABC Saturday Evening News.* The impermanence of their appearances and the frequency with which they are in "throwaway time" suggest that women are not really accepted in this role.

Minorities have appeared even less frequently as network anchors. Ed Bradley, who anchors CBS' *Sunday Night News* at 11:30 p.m., has achieved that status,[31] but he too is in non-prime time. The first black to achieve the status of anchor on a prime time, national news program is Max Robinson, formerly co-anchor of local news at WDVM-TV, a CBS affiliate in Washington, D.C. ABC News, the organization he joined, has altered the role of the anchor, however. Instead of one anchor such as CBS' Walter Cronkite, or co-anchors like NBC's John Chancellor and David Brinkley, ABC has four "desks": Frank Reynolds heads the "Washington desk," Peter Jennings heads the "foreign desk" in London, and Max Robinson heads the "national desk" in Chicago. Barbara Walters, based in New York, heads the "special coverage desk."[32] No minorities other than blacks and no minority women have appeared on network news as anchors. Moreover, black men and white women either share the anchor role or are confined to the early morning or late night hours. Thus, minorities and women have yet to achieve the same status as white males.

Minorities and Women as Correspondents

The denial of a place to women[33] and to minorities[34] in gathering and reporting the news was long based on the presumption that they were not as able as white males to "get a story" and that audiences were not as ready to believe them when they reported it. As has been demonstrated by correspondents of both sexes and of different racial backgrounds, however, one's sex or race does not preclude one from getting a story. Apparently, no studies have been conducted on audiences' perceptions of the authoritativeness of minority correspondents or of audience retention of the details of stories they present. A study analyzing audience perceptions of and attentiveness to female correspondents compared to male correspondents shows no differences between them.[35] In an earlier study comparing news directors' attitudes with audience attitudes, most of the news directors thought their audience preferred male newscasters, whereas at least half of the viewers said the sex of the newscaster was irrelevant to them.[36]

The continued lack of news stories about minorities and women and the scarcity of minority and female correspondents illustrate the fact that network news remains dominated by white males. Participants at a conference held in April 1977 to assess the progress minorities had made in the media since the 1968 "Kerner Commission report" addressed the problem of whites deciding what constitutes the news. Richard Townley, news director of WCMH-TV in Columbus, Ohio, framed the issue:

> What we are really dealing with is not necessarily just the elements of job opportunity or training opportunities or even institutional racism, commitments that are all very real, but what we are dealing with at bottom is the very definition of journalism—a definition that was framed over a relatively short history by white male, middle-class people.[37]

Nancy Hicks, formerly of the *New York Times,* agreed:

> The issue is not whether or not the minority groups coming into the system have the skills necessary to write a lead or handle a story on a deadline, but it's how do you call the story? The issue of *quality* seems to keep rotating around whether or not the person who comes from one background will see the issues and judge what they are the same way as one from a different background.
>
> What we should be doing is increasing the different kinds of people who make those judgments,. . .you have different perceptions, and therein the standard is set, which is not

[30] Eddings, "Women in Broadcasting," p. 156.
[31] Jacqueline Trescott, "Anchorman-Reporter Ed Bradley: Like It or Not, a Symbol," *Washington Post,* Apr. 1, 1977, p. B–1.
[32] Tom Shales, "Follow the Bouncing News with ABC," *Washington Post,* July 11, 1978, pp. C–1, C–4.
[33] Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote.*
[34] The issue of the absence of minority correspondents as well as the absence of news about minorities was earlier brought to national attention in the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,* Otto Kerner, Chairman (New York: Bantam Books, 1968).
[35] Susan Whittaker and Ron Whittaker, "Relative Effectiveness of Male and Female Newscasters," *Journal of Broadcasting,* vol. 20 (spring 1976), p. 182.
[36] Vernon A. Stone, "Attitudes Toward Television Newswomen," *Journal of Broadcasting,* vol. 8 (winter 1973–74), p. 52.
[37] Marion Marzolf and Melba Tolliver, *Kerner Plus 10: Minorities and the Media, A Conference Report* (University of Michigan, Department of Journalism, Apr. 22, 1977), p. 8.

necessarily lower; it's different and probably more representative.[38]

Conclusion

The increase in the number of news stories of general national or international significance reported by minority males and white female correspondents and the increase in the percentage of minority male and white female correspondents, as reported earlier in this chapter, are encouraging signs that diversification is occurring. It is comparably discouraging, however, that the percentage of minority and female newsmakers, news about minorities and women, and the percentage of minority female correspondents all declined in the 1977 sample compared with the 1974–75 sample.

[38] Ibid. Nancy Hicks is now with *Black Enterprise* magazine.

Chapter 4

Employment of Minorities and Women at Local Television Stations and the Networks

Equal Employment Opportunity at Local Stations

Window Dressing examined the employment status of minorities and women at 40 television stations in major markets located throughout the United States, including all those owned by ABC, CBS, and NBC.[1] In addition, this Commission studied the job titles, salaries, and status of employees on the organizational charts of 8 of the 40 television stations.[2] The major finding was that, despite increases in the numbers of minority and female employees at television stations, they were almost completely absent from decision-making positions.

This Commission also found that many minority and female employees were being given impressive job titles, but their salaries and locations on organizational charts suggested that the job titles constituted an artificially inflated job status.[3] Another manifestation of this inflation was the increasing proportion of employees who were being reported as officials and managers in employment reports (FCC Form 395) submitted annually to the Federal Communications Commission.[4]

Are these illusory patterns continuing or is there evidence that the real status of minorities and women has improved during the last 2 years? Although it was not possible to do a detailed followup study of the occupational status of employees at individual stations, an analysis of the FCC Form 395 employment reports submitted by the 40 stations in 1977 compared to those in 1975 shows that job category inflation continues.

FCC Form 395 contains nine job categories; however, almost 80 percent of television employees nationwide are listed as being in the top four.[5] In this Commission's sample, the percentage of employees in the upper four job categories—officials and managers, professionals, technicians, and sales workers—has increased significantly since 1975,[6] while the percentage in the lower five categories—office and clerical workers, craftsmen, operatives, laborers, and service workers—has decreased significantly.[7] Among the specific categories, the percentage of professional employees rose significantly[8] and the percentage of craftsmen decreased significantly.[9] (See table C.1 in appendix C.)

No statistically significant increases in the percentage of minorities and women employed as officials and managers at the 40 stations occurred between 1975 and 1977. Disproportionately fewer blacks are employed as officials and managers than as employees in general. (See table C.2 in appendix C.) When the percentages of black male and female officials and managers are compared to the percentages of

[1] The television station sample included 15 network-owned and operated stations, 15 stations affiliated with the networks, and 10 public stations, located in 10 major markets: New York; Los Angeles; Chicago; Detroit; Philadephia; San Francisco; Cleveland; Washington, D.C.; St. Louis; and Atlanta. *Window Dressing*, p. 76.

[2] The eight-station sample included three network-owned stations, KNXT (CBS, Los Angeles), WLS (ABC, Chicago), and WRC (NBC, Washington, D.C.); three stations affiliated with the networks, WAGA (CBS, Atlanta), WPVI (ABC, Philadelphia), and WWJ (NBC, Detroit); and two public stations, KQED (San Francisco) and WNET (New York). Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 97.

[4] Ibid., p. 92.

[5] In 1975, 77.2 percent of all television employees were in the upper four categories. Ralph M. Jennings and Veronica Jefferson, "Television Station Employment Practices: The Status of Minorities and Women 1975," figures B, E, and H. In 1976 the nationwide proportion of television employees in the upper four categories was 78.4 percent, and in 1977 it had risen to 79.8 percent. Ralph M. Jennings, "Television Station Employment Practices 1977: The Status of Minorities and Women" (United Church of Christ, Office of Communications: April 1978), tables 2 and 12.

[6] $Z = 4.50$; $p = <.01$.

[7] $Z = 4.56$; $p = <.01$.

[8] $Z = 2.30$; $p = <.05$.

[9] $Z = 10.42$; $p = <.001$.

black employees at the 40 stations for 1977, statistically significant differences occur.[10] In contrast, disproportionately more white males are employed as officials and managers.[11] (No statistically significant differences occurred in the percentage of other minority and white female officials and managers compared to their percentages among all employees.) Although the percentage of white males among all officials and managers decreased slightly between 1975 and 1977, white males constituted almost 75 percent of all employees reported to be officials and managers in 1977 (see figure 4.1). As will be shown below, it is also quite likely that they hold the vast majority of the official and manager positions that actually have policymaking authority.

Women and Minorities in Policymaking Positions

The actual status of minorities and women insofar as policymaking positions are concerned was the subject of concern at the "Kerner Plus 10" conference discussed in chapter 3. One of the conference participants, Mal Johnson, director of community affairs for Cox Broadcasting, noted that minorities are not making their way to the top:

> [T]he problem today is that minorities who have been in the business for several years need to be moved up. The pipeline is clogged. . . .The indictment of broadcasters comes not in their hiring practices, so much as in their promotion, programming, and policy-making positions. A few of the networks are starting middle-management training programs, but the pace is too slow.[12]

Bill Black, formerly with the *Michigan Chronicle* and currently a city reporter for WJR Radio in Detroit, made a similar point: "[H]ow many blacks, Poles, Chicanos, American Indians they have on their staff doesn't make any difference, because the people making the decisions have changed very little."[13]

The Dupont-Columbia survey of women in broadcasting investigated its respondents' employment status. The survey's author, Barbara Eddings, reported that in January 1976 ABC had promoted Marlene Sanders to be the first woman network vice president for TV news (she is now at CBS coproducing *CBS Special Reports)* and in January 1977 Ann Berk was named the first woman station manager for a network-owned station (WNBC–TV in New York). Eddings found in general, however, that women in television management are scarce.[14]

Women responding to the Dupont-Columbia University survey were also questioned about the use of the FCC employment report form (Form 395) at their stations. Results indicate that some licensees continue to upgrade the status of their female employees as reported in *Window Dressing.* A producer at an NBC-owned station said: "The 395 Form. . .lists many more women in the 'officials and managers' category than can be found actually operating on that level."[15] A news reporter from Houston said: "As I understand it, one woman now categorized as an office manager was before the EEO reports just a secretary, and the traffic director was also considered simply a clerk."[16] A reporter in St. Louis said, "I was given a phony title when hired, Director of Community Involvement Programs. . . .I was directing no one, not even myself."[17]

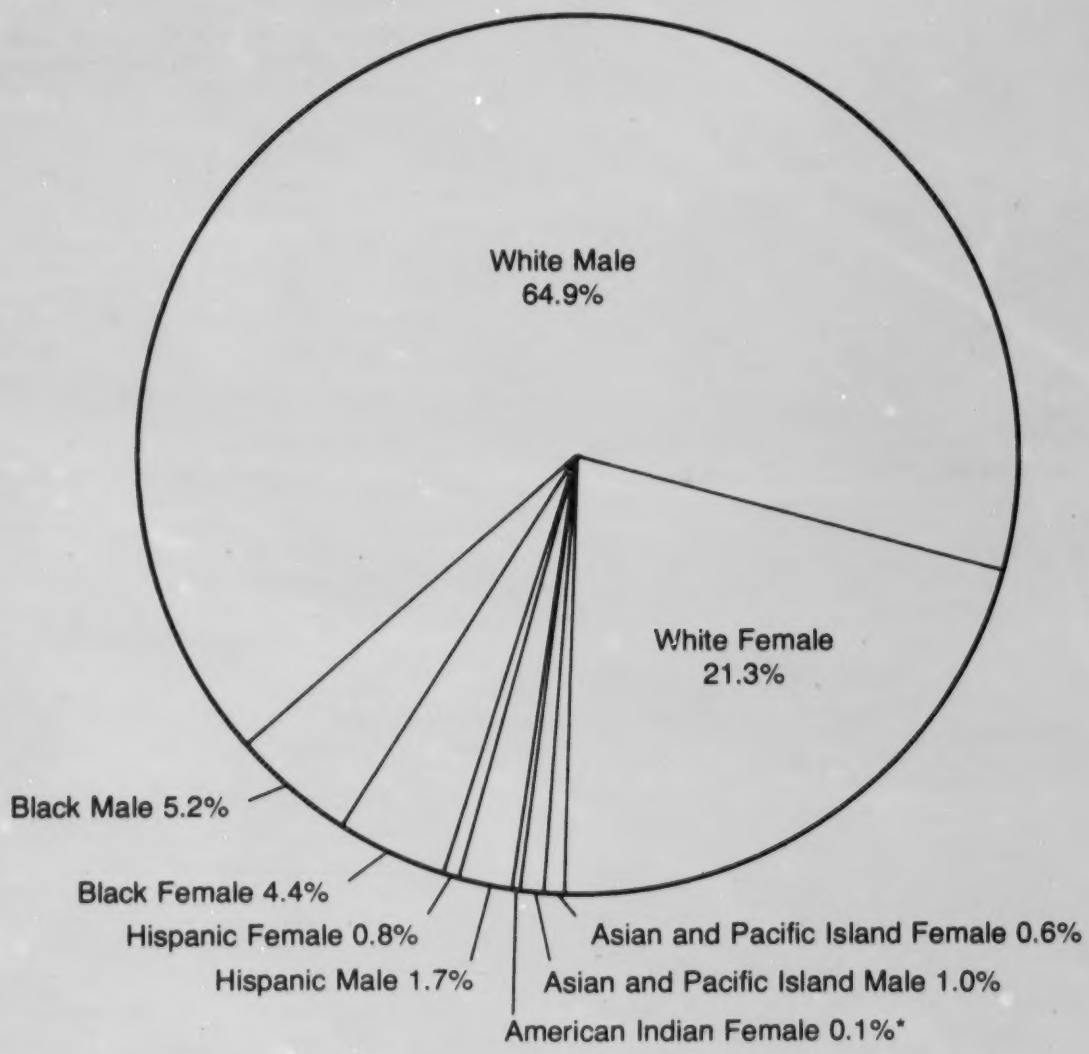
The report concluded that the "true status of women in the industry" could be summed up in the following comment by Patricia Reed Scott, the producer of the PBS series, *Getting On:*

> I was always aware that, excepting on-air reporters, hardly any women were visible in news assignment, line production, or any key policy positions. I still see too many women who work in broadcasting getting no farther than production assistant, researcher, assistant-to, and producer of no-budget, ghetto-time public affairs.[18]

In November 1977 the Federal Communications Commission issued a notice of proposed rulemaking to amend its Form 395.[19] The proposed rulemaking is the result of continued criticism of the form currently in use. In discussing reasons for consideration of a possible revision of Form 395, the FCC

[10] Underrepresentation of black males as officials and managers: $Z = 3.78$; $p = < .001$; underrepresentation of black females as officials and managers: $Z = 3.11$; $p = < .001$.
[11] Overrepresentation of white males as officials and managers: $Z = 5.01$; $p = < .001$.
[12] Marzolf and Tolliver, "Kerner Plus 10," pp. 7–8.
[13] Ibid., p. 21.
[14] Eddings, "Women in Broadcasting," p. 155.
[15] Ibid., p. 159.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., pp. 156–57.
[19] U.S., Federal Communications Commission, "Notice of Proposed Rulemaking in the Matter of Petitions to Amend FCC Form 395 and Instructions," Docket No. 21474, pp. 1–8.

FIGURE 4.1
Distribution of Officials and Managers by Race and Sex, 1977
(40-Station Sample)



*American Indian Male: 0.0%

makes ample use of the findings in *Window Dressing* regarding misuse and abuse of job categories, particularly the officials and managers job category.[20] It also reports Judith E. Saxton and John Abel's unpublished study of the gender of those individuals listed in *Broadcasting Yearbook*. Saxton and Abel found that only 5.2 percent of the managerial positions at stations in the top 50 markets were held by women. Moreover, while licensees in the top 10 markets reported employing 267 female officials and managers, they listed only 26 of those women as executives in *Broadcasting Yearbook*.[21]

Many of the broadcasters commenting on the FCC rulemaking have acknowledged that there have been complaints of misuse or abuse of Form 395 by some licensees. For example, ABC has noted that "recurring allegations [have been made] that the Form 395 reports have overstated, through misclassification or otherwise, the true role of women and minorities in the broadcasting industry."[22]

Although commenting broadcasters rejected major overhaul of Form 395, many submitted detailed and specific definitions designed to eliminate the kinds of abuses reported in *Window Dressing* [23] and in the Dupont-Columbia survey. For example, ABC developed both a set of definitions and a checklist to aid licensees in determining the appropriateness of placing job titles under a given category.[24]

It is clear that revision of Form 395 is needed now. If done properly, the new form should help to ensure a more accurate report of the status of women and minorities in the television industry. In commenting on an earlier draft of this report, the FCC acknowledged the need for an "accurate picture of the status of women and minorities in the television industry" and noted that attentiveness to the inclusion of minorities and women in "true decision-making positions. . .would be fully compatible" with its equal employment opportunity responsibilities:

> Whether the use of the present FCC Form 395 results in an inaccurate and misleading picture of minority and female employment because the job categories are too vague and are not function-oriented was the primary concern which led the Commission to institute in November of 1977, a general rulemaking inquiry concerning the annual employment report. In the instant report, CCR commends this action of the Commission and urges the expeditious resolution of that inquiry. Implicit in the report is CCR's suggestion that once an accurate picture of the status of women and minorities in the television industry is set forth the Commission would be attentive to their inclusion in true decision-making positions at television broadcast stations. We believe that the implementation of such a recommendation, be it expressly stated or otherwise, would be fully compatible with the Commission's regulatory responsibilities in the EEO area.[25]

This Commission is pleased to learn that the FCC intends to assure itself that women and minorities are employed in "true decision-making positions" at broadcast stations and believes, as will be shown below, that to achieve this goal a number of specific steps need to be followed.[26]

Affirmative Action in Television Employment

In July 1976 the FCC adopted guidelines containing a 10-point model program suggesting steps for

[20] Ibid., p. 4.

[21] Judith E. Saxton and John D. Abel, "Women in Television Station Management: The Top 50 Markets, 1974 and 1975" (unpublished), p. 22.

[22] "Comments of American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. in the Matter of Petitions for Rulemaking to Amend FCC Form 395 and Instructions," Docket No. 21474, Apr. 24, 1978, p. 2.

[23] *Window Dressing*, pp. 88–107.

[24] "ABC Comments," pp. 15–23.

[25] Wallace E. Johnson, Chief, Broadcast Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, letter to Louis Nunez, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, July 19, 1978 (hereafter cited as *FCC Comments)* . (The entire letter from the FCC appears as appendix D. The FCC's further comments on the report in its present form appear as appendix E.)
On October 31, 1978, the Federal Communication Commission approved a slightly revised Form 395. Although the categories remain the same, the definitions for each category have been revised. In addition, each licensee will now be required to prepare a list of all employees in order of salary and identified by race, ethnicity, sex, and job title. The list is to be placed in the licensee's public file annually and submitted to the FCC at license renewal time. The FCC has not indicated whether it will take action with respect to these lists when they are submitted. Furthermore, at the meeting during which the revisions were approved, FCC staff were instructed by the Commissioners to consider alternatives to listing employees in order of salary should some of them object to it on the grounds of privacy. ("Action on Broadcast Employment Report Form (Docket 21474)," *Federal Communications Commission News*, Report No. 14540, Oct. 31, 1978.) Although the FCC action is in direct line with recommendation 7 of *Window Dressing* and this report, the action does not follow recommendation 8 which calls for major revisions in Form 395 itself.

[26] The FCC and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) adopted a Memorandum of Understanding on Aug. 10, 1978, in which they agreed to exchange information about broadcasters' employment practices and set forth each agency's responsibilities for handling complaints about employment discrimination. The action took effect on Sept. 24, 1978. ("Broadcast Action: FCC EEOC Memorandum of Understanding Adopted," FCC News, Report No. 16169, Aug. 10, 1978.)
This Commission has urged adoption of such an understanding (Louis Nunez, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Letter to William J. Tricarico, Secretary, Federal Communications Commission, Apr. 17, 1978) and trusts that in taking this action, the FCC and the EEOC will work together to eliminate discrimination in the broadcast industry.

licensees to follow when developing equal employment opportunity plans.[27] Although insufficient time has elapsed to undertake a detailed study of its effectiveness, this Commission continues to believe that the FCC's model program is not adequately designed to assure the employment of minorities and women at broadcast stations in general and in decisionmaking positions in particular.[28]

In October 1977 this Commission issued a *Statement on Affirmative Action.* [29] This statement, which describes the elements of an effective affirmative action plan that are embodied in Revised Order No. 4,[30] may be used in examining the model plan of the FCC.

The first step in an effective affirmative action plan is an evaluation of the employer's work force to determine the patterns of employment of minorities and women.[31] Whi the FCC's model program contains the elements involved in such an analysis, they are scattered throughout the program and are not clearly designed to have the effect of a self-analysis. Section VI of the program requires licensees to determine the percentage of minorities and women in the local labor force, and section VII requires licensees to provide data on the employees in the licensees' own work force. Finally, section X suggests that the licensee can "compare the percentages of minorities and women on the station's current staff and their respective percentages in the relevant available labor force."[32] Since the only way to determine the extent to which minorities and women are being utilized is by following the procedure in section X, it is unfortunate that the FCC does not appear to *require* licensees to undertake the procedures and that the suggestion comes last, rather than first, in the model program.

After the self-analysis has been completed, the second affirmative step the employer should take is to determine the obstacles to full utilization of minorities and women and to develop a plan that will overcome the obstacles. Possible steps include improved recruiting procedures, revised criteria for hiring, and new training procedures, as well as other efforts.[33]

The FCC's model plan does not require licensees to ascertain obstacles to full employment of minorities and women. Instead, as reported in *Window Dressing,* the model plan assumes that the cause of underutilization is the lack of an available applicant pool; heavy emphasis is placed on recruitment efforts, but an examination of selection and promotion techniques, for example, is omitted.[34]

The third part of an effective affirmative action plan is the concept of "goals and timetables." The "goal," expressed in a flexible range, is the percentage of minorities and women an employer expects to employ, and the "timetable" is the schedule the employer expects to meet in fulfilling the goal. If an employer is unable to locate qualified or qualifiable employees, he or she is not bound to reach the goal, but must show that genuine good faith efforts have been made to reach it.[35]

In 1977 the FCC announced that it would use as a processing standard for its "zone of reasonableness" an employment rate of 50 percent of parity for the overall employment of minorities and women and 25 percent of parity for the employment of both groups in the upper four categories.[36] This Commission has criticized this standard as being so low that it could not be expected to have any significant effect upon improving the status of women and minorities in the television industry.[37] How, for example, can the FCC justify the 25 percent standard, when almost 80 percent of all television employees are now in the upper four categories?[38] Certainly, requiring 50 percent fewer minorities and women than are already in the local labor force is stretching the need for flexibility beyond the bounds of credulity.

In two companion cases regarding underrepresentation in employment, of Asian Americans at a San Francisco radio station (*Chinese for Affirmative Action* v. *F.C.C.)* and of Mexican Amer[illegible] at a San

[27] U.S. Federal Communications Commission, "Report and Order in the Matter of Nondiscrimination in the Employment Policies and Practices of Broadcast Licensees," Docket No. 20550, July 26, 1976.

[28] *Window Dressing,* pp. 135–45.

[29] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Statement on Affirmative Action* (1977).

[30] 41 C.F.R. 60–2.10, 2.11 (1977).

[31] *Statement on Affirmative Action,* p. 6.

[32] "Guidelines to the Model EEO Program," FCC FORM 342, p. 10.

[33] *Statement on Affirmative Action,* p. 6.

[34] *Window Dressing,* p. 143.

[35] *Statement on Affirmative Action,* p. 6.

[36] In its comments on a draft of *Window Dressing,* the FCC described its "zone of reasonableness" processing standard:

> Briefly, the Commission will first look to a station's employment profile. If minorities and women are present on a station's staff in a ratio of fifty percent of their presence in the available workforce overall and twenty-five percent in the upper four job categories, the Commission will limit its analysis to a brief analysis of the written EEO program to assure that the program is complete in all significant respects. However, if a station does not meet this statistical standard, our staff will evaluate the written EEO program in detail and, if necessary, will request additional information from the licensee. If, after this analysis is complete, it appears that a licensee is still not in compliance with our rules, the Commission will not hesitate to use the sanctions available to it. *FCC Comments* quoted in *Window Dressing,* p. 138.

[37] *Window Dressing,* pp. 138–43.

[38] Ibid., footnote 5.

Antonio radio station (*Bilingual Bicultural Coalition of Mass Media* v. *F.C.C.)* the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia noted but did not decide the merits of the FCC's recently adopted processing standard.[39] In the *CAA* case, the majority, although stating that procedural errors may have occurred, concluded, among other things, that the statistical disparity in the employment figures—6.1 percent Asian American employees at station KCBS in 1974 and 3.6 percent in 1975 compared to a 6 percent Asian American population in San Francisco and Oakland[40]—was within the zone of reasonableness. In *Bilingual II,* the court remanded the case for further FCC proceedings because an inference that intentional discrimination existed had not been resolved. That inference arose from FCC findings including, among others, that the statistical disparity in employment figures—16 percent Hispanic employees at station KONO in 1974 and 17 percent in 1975 compared to a 44 percent Hispanic population in San Antonio[41]—was outside the zone of reasonableness.[42]

Judge Spottswood Robinson, while concurring in the *Bilingual II* decision, dissented in the *CAA* case. In his dissent, he commented on the FCC's new 50/25 standards. Criticizing the 25 percent of parity standard in view of the fact that more than 77 percent of all broadcast employees were in the upper four categories in 1975, Judge Robinson stated: "this startling statistic. . .[reflects] a distorted view of what jobs are important [and makes] a mockery of any figures purporting to show that a licensee has an appreciable number of women or minority group members in critical positions."[43] For example, in *CAA,* CBS has argued that women are proportionally represented because in 1975 half of all KCBS's female employees were in the upper four categories. Judge Robinson noted that CBS' claim ignored the fact that, of the 14 employees *not* employed in the upper four categories, all except 1 were women. Commenting that this was hardly an "exemplary" performance, Judge Robinson concluded: "Because statistics showing overall proportional employment may easily mask a design to keep minorities and women out of truly influential jobs and because those positions are more likely to have an impact on programming, the Commission needs reliable information on upper-level employment."[44]

The FCC's 50/25 standard is unreasonably low for the purposes of achieving equity in the employment of minorities and women. It allows a licensee to employ only half as many minorities or women as are already in the labor force, and it allows a licensee to employ only 25 percent as many minorities and women in the upper four categories as are in the labor force. For example, if women constitute 40 percent of the local labor force, they need constitute only 20 percent of the licensee's work force and 10 percent of the licensee's upper level employees. If minorities constitute 12 percent of the local labor force a licensee would only be expected to have 6 percent minorities on its staff and 3 percent in the upper level positions. These standards do little to encourage greater opportunities for minorities and women. Indeed, the employment of minorities and women at levels as low as these might suggest discriminatory employment practices.[45]

Using the 1977 Form 395 employment data submitted by the 40 stations and the most recent available labor force data for the standard metropolitan statistical areas in which the 40 stations are located, this Commission prepared utilization ratios for each of the racial-ethnic groups, subdivided by sex. These data are summarized in table 4.1 and appear in complete form in table C.3 in appendix C. The data support this Commission's contention that the FCC's 50/25 standard is unreasonably low. First, minorities are already utilized at parity (1.00) or higher at half of the 40 stations in the sample. For example, black males reached parity at 20 of the stations and black females at 15. Moreover, 39 of the stations employed black males at the 50 percent level or higher and 36 stations employed black females at that rate or higher. About half the stations employed

[39] The Bilingual Bicultural Coalition on Mass Media, Inc. v. F.C.C. and Chinese for Affirmative Action v. F.C.C., 16 EPD 5477, 5494, n. 33 (D.C. Cir. May 4, 1978).

[40] *Id.* at 5479, 5482. Although Chinese for Affirmative Action did not dispute these figures, it argued that a "relatively high turnover of Asian employees" at the station constituted a "revolving door" and that it should have been allowed discovery on this issue. *Id.* at 5482 (footnoted omitted).

[41] *Id.* at 5480.

[42] *Id.* at 5483 (footnote omitted).

[43] *Id.* at 5501, n. 74.

[44] *Id.*

[45] Although not in the area of employment, a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States regarding the percentage of Mexican Americans selected to serve on grand juries over an 11-year period in a Texas county held that 50 percent of parity constituted a *prima facie* case of discrimination; i.e., an unrebutted presumption of purposeful discrimination. Castaneda v. Partida, 430 U.S. 482 (1977). In another case, the Supreme Court found 62 percent of parity to constitute a *prima facie* case of discrimination in a case involving grand jury and school board selection in a Georgia county. Turner v. Fouche, 396 U.S. 346, (1970). While these cases admittedly do not cover employment issues, it can be argued by analogy that if the levels of disparity discussed in them suggest discrimination, then similar or higher levels of disparity in employment may also suggest discrimination.

Table 4.1

Number of Stations Utilizing Minorities[1] and Women at Various Levels

(40-Station Sample)

1977

	White		Black		Hispanic	
Overall Employment	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Over 1.00	32	2	20	15	7	13
Over .80	39	5	28	25	11	16
Over .50	40	31	39	36	21	22
Upper Four Job Categories						
Over 1.00	38	1	22	1	7	5
Over .80	40	2	29	3	11	8
Over .25	40	35	40	32	22	14

Source: Table C.3 in appendix C.

[1] Asian and Pacific Island Americans and American Indians constitute less than 5 percent of the labor force of 9 of the SMSAs in which the 40 stations are located. The exception is San Francisco. As the employment of even one individual results in artificially high utilization ratios, data for these employees are not reported here. See table C.3 in appendix C for all ratios.

This table may be read as follows: At 32 of the 40 stations white males are employed at a level of 1.00 or higher whereas this is true for white females at only 2 stations. Hispanic males are reported by 22 stations as employed in the top four categories at a rate of 25 percent or more of their representation in the labor force. For Hispanic females this is true at 14 stations.

Hispanic males and females at the 50 percent standard. In San Francisco[46] Asian and Pacific Island American male employees were above the 50 percent standard at three of four stations and above 80 percent at one station; female employees were above the 50 percent standard at three stations, above 80 percent at two stations, and above parity at one station. It seems clear, then, that the 50 percent standard the FCC has developed is a sharply lower goal than is in many instances already being realized.

The 25 percent standard for the upper four categories is even more unrealistic insofar as the employment of minorities is concerned. Twenty-two of the 40 stations report employing black males at or above parity for the upper four categories; they are above the 25 percent standard at all 40 stations. Other minorities and white women are not utilized in upper level jobs as fully as black males appear to be, but in most cases they are above the .25 standard. With a standard as low as this some licensees could reduce the number of women and minorities in upper level jobs and still avoid FCC scrutiny of their employment policies and practices.

In *Window Dressing* this Commission recommended that the FCC adopt a standard of at least 80 percent of parity for the employment of minorities and women. This Commission also recommended that women and minorities be employed at all levels in proportions roughly comparable to those of white males. Many of the stations in the sample are already employing minorities at or above the 80 percent standard. Although fewer stations employ women—particularly white women—at parity, the proposed 80 percent standard is nevertheless a reasonable and realistic goal. White males are fully utilized at all levels compared to their availability in the labor force. Comparable opportunity should be made available for women and minorities to make a contribution to the programming and other activities of the Nation's television stations.

To achieve equity, minorities and women should be employed at a rate of at least 80 percent of parity with their presence in the labor force, and minority and female employees should be employed at *all* levels of the licensee's work force in proportions roughly comparable to those of white males.

[46] Asian and Pacific Island Americans constitute less than 5 percent of the labor force in 9 of the 10 SMSAs in the sample. In the San Francisco SMSA they are combined with American Indians and reported as "other races" by the California Department of Human Resources. The data reported here include, therefore, an unknown but presumably small percentage of American Indians.

Reaching this goal will require television licensees to adopt an effective affirmative action plan, the major elements of which may be summarized as follows:

(1) a statistical report showing the degree of utilization of men and women of each racial and ethnic group throughout the licensee's work force;

(2) an analysis of the licensee's employment practices that outlines causes of underutilization;

(3) a list of specific recruitment, training, and other measures to achieve a reasonable approximation of parity with the appropriate labor force and equitable representation of minorities and women throughout the licensee's work force;

(4) a statistical report indicating the results of the licensee's efforts to hire and promote minorities and women; and

(5) statistical reports on applicant flow and terminations.

In those cases in which the employment of minorities and women is substantially below parity, the FCC should defer renewal of licenses pending an onsite review of the licensee's employment practices and a determination that all reasonable means to achieve compliance have been exhausted. If the results of such a review and determination show apparent noncompliance, the FCC should hold a hearing to determine the facts before possible revocation of the license. Licensees who have not shown tangible progress should be required to demonstrate that their failure to do so is not the result of discriminatory employment policies and practices.

Equal Employment Opportunity at the Networks

In *Window Dressing* this Commission recommended that the FCC be authorized to regulate equal employment opportunity at the networks.[47] It is at the network level that most of the decisions are made that affect the programs that are seen nationwide,[48] so it is important that women and minorities be well represented among those who are making such decisions. Reports of specific network instructions regarding the portrayal of minorities and women suggest that sensitivity to their portrayal is not always present. For example, *Window Dressing* reported various network instructions about the ways in which women might most appropriately be killed or hurt in action scenes.[49] Recent interviews with producers of programs featuring sexy "girls" suggest that the producers are acting under network instructions to produce risque programs.[50]

The kinds of programs featuring minorities also seem to be affected by the absence—or presence—of minorities in decisionmaking positions. In an article entitled "Is Television Taking Blacks Seriously?" Robert Sklar, who chairs New York University's

[47] *Window Dressing*, p. 150.

[48] In *Window Dressing*, this Commission reported on several of the findings and recommendations of FCC studies conducted in the early 1960s on network control of programming. One finding in the 1963 study, entitled *Television Network Program Procurement*, addressed the issue of network versus licensee control of programs:

> As network television is presently operated, it is difficult to say *who* is responsible for *what* in network entertainment programming. However, *it is entirely clear that the notion that actual responsibility for network programs is exercised at the station level is unreal.* Licensee-affiliates have, as a practical matter, delegated responsibility for program creation, production, and selection to networks. Networks, in turn, have redelegated a major part of that responsibility to advertisers, Hollywood film producers, talent agents, and others. The result, at best, has been a concentration of program control in a central source—the network. U.S., Congress, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, *Television Network Program Procurement*, 88th Cong., 1st sess. 1963, H. Rept. 281, p. 106.

[49] According to Thomas F. Baldwin and Colby Lewis, who interviewed a variety of industry people regarding network programming policies and their implementation (particularly with respect to the depiction of violence), the networks have a number of specific do's and don'ts with regard to the portrayal of women in violent situations. At the time of their interviews (June and July 1970), network practices suggested a policy to the effect that if violence against women could not be avoided or minimized, it had to result from a nonhuman agent. They cite two instances of script changes in which the network approved violence resulting from a nonhuman agent:

> A conflict in one show required that a women be hurt. . . .the network won't let the woman be shot, or squashed by a rearing horse. But it does approve having the horse hit her into a post so the post injures her. . . .One prisoner chases another woman to kill her and, in the original script, throws a wet sheet over her. The network censor labeled the sheet "too violent," so a pile of crates was upset on the woman instead. Thomas F. Baldwin and Colby Lewis, "Violence in Television: The Industry Looks at Itself," eds. George A. Comstock and Eli A. Rubinstein, Television and Social Behavior, Reports and Paper, vol. 1, *Media Content and Control, A Technical Report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Committee on Television and Social Behavior* (Rockville, Md.: National Institute of Mental Health, n.d.), p. 340.

[50] "Rub-a-Dub-Dub, Three Networks in a Tub," *Washington Post*, Feb. 19, 1978, p. G–1; chapter 1, above.

Another *Washington Post* article entitled "The Titillation of Sarah" reports in detail complaints by actresses in one made-for-TV movie that they were sexually "exploited" by costume requirements, lighting, and camera angles. One actress complained that during production the concept of the show perceptibly altered: "It didn't start out as a sex-oriented show. But I could see it changing as we went. They kept adding stuff that wasn't in the original script. You could see what they were going for; it was obvious: more sex." (William K. Knoedelseder Jr., and Ellen Farley, "The Titillation of Sarah," *Washington Post*, Feb. 19, 1978. p. G–3.)

Amid complaints from a number of actresses was the frequent accusation that the network was pressuring the producer to "show more skin." While the producer in question denied network pressure, he did quote network comments to the effect that "they wanted to see pretty faces and nice bodies; they wanted to see more legs; they wanted to show as much as they could within the boundaries of TV." As a result, costumes were changed. Scenes of "wealthy, chic sorority" girls in "blazers and nice outfits" were reshot with the actresses wearing "tube tops, tight T-shirts, short shorts and cut-offs" even though the scene was set in the fall. One costumer, claiming that her instructions came directly from network headquarters, complained, "It got down to stripping, literally." Network executives denied that they had given wardrobe change instructions, but commented that they had thought that "the girls' clothes 'didn't look contemporary enough.'" Ibid.

Cinema Studies Department, interviewed several black television producers, writers, and actors. One of them, Stanley Robertson, formerly an NBC vice president for motion pictures for television and currently at Universal Television, produces *Harris and Company*, a dramatic series about a black, blue-collar worker at an auto supply company in Detroit. NBC has purchased four episodes of this series. Noting that "he has faced pockets of resistance"[51] in producing *Harris and Company*, Robertson believes that a black producer can effect change. For example, he hired a black director for the series. In a scene set at a California college, he cast an Asian American in the role of admissions officer. While it may have been a small point, Robertson said, it is important to him to try to reflect southern California's ethnic diversity. In contrast, Robertson mentioned a series set in San Francisco in which no Asian American ever appears.[52]

Increased racial and gender diversity in decision-making positions at the networks (and in the production companies) can lead to increased diversity in the programs that are broadcast. In his initial speech to the National Association of Broadcasters, the current FCC Chairman, Charles Ferris, made this very point when he suggested that broadcasters "hire Blacks, women, Hispanics, and Asian Americans in responsible jobs" to increase "diversity of program choice."[53] This principle, initially applied to local stations, should be applied to the networks as well. As will be documented below, the employment of minorities and women at the networks' headquarters lags significantly behind their employment at the local stations owned by the networks.

ABC, CBS, and NBC, in their role as broadcast station owners, file annual "headquarters" reports with the FCC. Although the data are reported in the FCC's annual report on employment in broadcasting, these reports are not reviewed at license renewal time because the FCC has no authority to regulate the networks.[54]

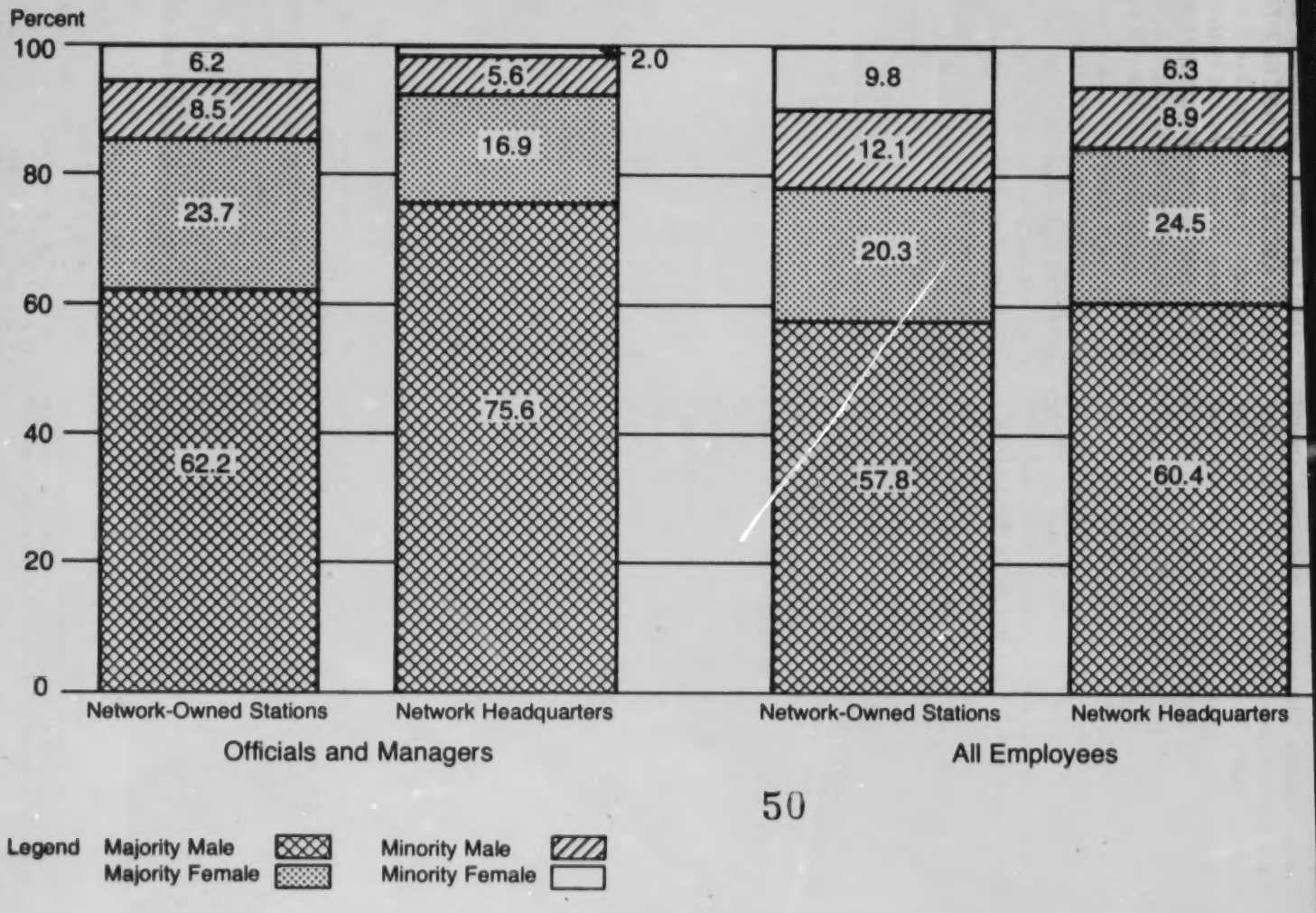
This Commission obtained the headquarters reports for ABC, CBS, and NBC for 1977 (see table C.4 in appendix C) and analyzed them[55] to determine the proportions of minorities and women employed at the headquarters level compared to those employed at the station level. The proportions of minorities and women reported as officials and managers at each level were also compared. The reports used in this analysis include consolidated reports on all employees (including those at local stations) and individual reports for each headquarters unit.

Analysis of 1977 official and manager employment data (see figure 4.2 and table C.5 in appendix C) shows marked differences in the racial, ethnic, and gender composition of network headquarters staffs compared to those at network-owned stations.[56] Significantly more official and manager positions are reported for the headquarters of each of the three networks than at their owned stations[57] and significantly more white males are employed as officials and managers at each network headquarters than at the local stations.[58] In contrast, the percentages of managerial employees who are minority and/or female are in many cases significantly lower at the headquarters level than at the local station level. The percentage of black female managerial employees is significantly lower at all three headquarters.[59] The percentage of white female managerial employees is significantly lower at ABC headquarters[60] and at CBS headquarters.[61] The percentage of black males who are officials and managers is significantly lower at NBC headquarters.[62] It should be noted that relatively few Hispanic Americans, Asian and Pacific Island Americans, or American Indians are reported to be officials or managers at either headquarters or at the owned stations of any of the networks.

Furthermore, significantly lower percentages of minorities are employed in all positions at network headquarters than at network-owned stations. (See figure 4.2 and table C.6 in appendix C.) The overall

[51] Robert Sklar, "Is Television Taking Blacks Seriously?" *American Film*, September 1978, p. 26.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Charles D. Ferris, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, "Remarks Before the 56th Annual Convention of the National Association of Broadcasters," Apr. 12, 1978, p. 10.
[54] Glenn Wolfe, Chief, FCC EEO Unit, Renewal and Transfer Division, Broadcast Bureau, telephone interview, Oct. 18, 1977.
[55] Some of the results of this analysis were orginially reported in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights "Comments in the Matter of Petitions for Rulemaking to Amend FCC Form 395 and Instructions," Docket No. 21474, Mar. 17, 1978.
[56] Because it is impossible to separate radio headquarters employees from television headquarters employees, network-owned radio station employees were included with network-owned television station employees in the analysis. See table C.3 in appendix C for a list of the headquarters units included in the analysis.
[57] ABC: $Z = 4.43$; $p = <.001$; CBS: $Z = 3.52$; $p = <.001$; NBC: $Z = 3.45$; $p = <.001$.
[58] ABC: $Z = 3.40$; $p = <.001$; CBS: $Z = 6.77$; $p = <.001$; NBC: $Z = 4.00$; $p = <.001$.
[59] ABC: $Z = 3.37$; $p = <.001$; CBS: $Z = 4.97$; $p = <.001$; NBC: $Z = 3.47$; $p = <.001$.
[60] $Z = 2.53$; $p = <.05$.
[61] $Z = 4.51$; $p = <.001$.
[62] $Z = 3.30$; $p = <.001$.

FIGURE 4.2
Distributions of Work Forces at Network-Owned Stations and Network Headquarters by Race and Sex, 1977



percentage of black male employees is significantly lower at CBS headquarters[63] and at NBC headquarters.[64] The percentage of black female employees is also significantly lower at all three networks.[65] The percentage of Asian American and Pacific Island male employees is significantly lower at CBS headquarters[66] and at NBC headquarters.[67] The percentage of Asian and Pacific Island American female employees is significantly lower at all three networks.[68] The percentage of Hispanic male employees is significantly lower at ABC headquarters.[69] Finally, the percentage of Hispanic female employees is significantly lower at CBS headquarters.[70] Although the percentage difference of American Indian employees at network headquarters compared to network-owned stations is not statistically significant, the number of American Indian employees is extremely small at all three headquarters and also at their local stations.

The proportion of white female employees at the headquarters level always exceeds the proportion of white females at the local level, but the majority (as much as 63.0 percent) of the white female headquarters employees are employed as office and clerical workers. (See table C.7 in appendix C.) In every case, large percentages of the minority female employees at the headquarters level are also office and clerical employees. As many as 79.2 percent of all black women, as many as 59.1 percent of Asian and Pacific Island American women, as many as 88.1 percent of Hispanic women, and as many as 66.7 percent of American Indian women are office and clerical workers at the headquarters of the networks.

As the data in table C.6 show, each of the networks has over two-thirds of its total number of employees at the headquarters level rather than at the local station level: 70.0 percent of ABC's employees are at headquarters; 70.3 percent of CBS's employees are at headquarters; and 70.2 percent of NBC's employees are at headquarters. To reiterate, the FCC does not examine the employment reports for headquarters employees; so the employment status of over two-thirds of the employees of ABC, CBS, and NBC is never evaluated.

There are 143 individuals or companies with multiple station holdings that account for 462[71] of the Nation's 727 commercial stations, 59 percent.[72] Each of these individuals or companies files a headquarters employment report at license renewal time. Since it was not possible to compare the headquarters Form 395 reports of the 143 owners with the Form 395 reports for their 462 stations, this Commission was unable to determine whether these owners are also employing large numbers of people, many of whom may not be minority or female.

The data reported here strongly suggest that the employment status of minorities and women at network headquarters would be better if mechanisms were available for direct oversight of employment patterns and practices at the headquarters level. The FCC's employment reporting form (Form 395) and its model equal employment opportunity plan, the various sanctions the FCC may impose for noncompliance, and citizen group monitoring efforts of licensee's employment patterns and practices have all contributed to improved employment opportunities for minorities and women at the local station level. Extension of these mechanisms to the headquarters level of all group owners—in their capacity as station owners and as producers of programs for their owned stations and affiliates—is a direct way of increasing employment opportunities for minorities and women. Minorities and women in a variety of policymaking positions at the networks and at the headquarters of all group owners could make a significant contribution to a more equitable and diversified portrayal of minorities and women on television.

[63] $Z = 3.07$; $p = <.01$.
[64] $Z = 8.73$; $p = <.001$.
[65] ABC: $Z = 2.71$; $p = <.01$; CBS: $Z = 5.22$; $p = <.001$; NBC: $Z = 4.34$; $p = <.001$.
[66] $Z = 3.16$; $p = <.01$.
[67] $Z = 2.61$; $p = <.01$.
[68] ABC: $Z = 3.11$; $p = <.01$; CBS: $Z = 2.64$; $p = <.01$; NBC: $Z = 3.12$; $p = <.01$.
[69] $Z = 2.91$; $p = <.01$.
[70] $Z = 2.57$; $p = <.01$.
[71] *Broadcasting Yearbook 1978*, pp. A33–A45.
[72] U.S., Federal Communications Commission, Broadcast Station Totals for March 1978.

Chapter 5

Television's Effect on Viewers and the First Amendment

Television drama does not, nor should it necessarily, mirror reality, but its apparent authenticity often makes it believable. This is true especially for young children, but it is also true for adults. This chapter reviews some of the research designed to investigate the effect of television on viewers, particularly young viewers. Although most of the "effects" research has been devoted to issues surrounding televised violence and advertising directed toward children, researchers are increasingly investigating children's perceptions of and knowledge about minorities and about sex and occupational roles as they are influenced by television portrayals of minorities and women.

The public has a direct and profound interest in the ways in which perceptions and knowledge can be influenced by television drama. It has an equally strong interest in preserving broadcasters' rights to free speech as they are protected by the First Amendment and the Communications Act. It is the responsibility of the people's representative in these matters, the Federal Communications Commission, to take action that will serve both of these compelling interests. The second half of this chapter reviews actions taken by the FCC with respect to programming and advertising directed toward children and televised violence. It also explores alternatives for FCC action regarding the portrayal of minorities and women in television drama.

Television's Effect

Television, more than any other medium of communication, has the power to touch people's lives and to shape their thinking. Indeed, television is more than quantitatively different from other media; its qualitative differences are what make it unique. Professor George Gerbner, dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania and his associate, Professor Larry Gross, have delineated these qualitative differences:

> Unlike print, television does not require literacy. Unlike the movies, television is "free" (supported by a privately imposed tax on all goods), and it is always running. Unlike the theater, concerts, movies, and even churches, television does not require mobility. It comes into the home and reaches individuals directly. With its virtually unlimited access from cradle to grave, television both precedes reading and, increasingly, preempts it.
>
> Television is the first centralized cultural influence to permeate both the initial and the final years of life—as well as the years between. Most infants are exposed to television long before reading. By the time a child reaches school, television will have occupied more time than would be spent in a college classroom. At the other end of the lifelong curriculum, television is there to keep the elderly company when all else fails.[1]

That the ready availability of television leads to relatively high levels of viewing is borne out by the fact that television sets are in use in the average American household almost 7 hours per day.[2] Gerbner and Gross report that nearly half the children in studies they have done on the cultivation of televised violence watch television at least 6 hours every day.[3] To dramatize the implications of this investment of time to readers who may have been

[1] George Gerbner and Larry Gross, "Living With Television: The Violence Profile," *Journal of Communication*, vol. 26 (Spring 1976), p. 176.

[2] "TV Usage Per Home Per Week in Hours and Minutes," *Broadcasting Yearbook* (1978), p. B–176.

[3] Gerbner and Gross, "Living with Television," p. 176.

reared in prevideo days, they suggest that we imagine a childhood in which we spent 6 hours every day of the week at the local movie theater. Not only would few parents have allowed their children to spend their time in this manner, but few children would have thought to ask permission to do so in the first place.

Clearly, television plays an enormous role in our lives as an entertainment and information medium. But its cradle-to-grave omnipresence does more than help us to pass our time in a relaxing manner or to provide us with information on the events of the day. Television plays a subtler role: by showing us worlds we would otherwise seldom see, by determining the elements of those worlds on which to focus, and by presenting them in a context of good and bad, television helps to shape what we know about our world, what we believe about it, and what we feel about it.

Television drama may not be real, but it is realistic. It has what broadcast historian Erik Barnouw calls "an air of authenticity."[4] Gerbner and Gross call it "representational realism."[5] In either case television drama functions not only to entertain but to instruct: we "learn" about police, courtroom, and hospital procedures, and we are initiated into the inner workings of big business, the FBI, and organized crime.

Although we "know" that television drama is really fiction, its seeming realism combined with our basic ignorance about many of the procedures, institutions, and types of people portrayed on television lowers our defenses. Attorneys, for example, have been debating for years the effects of *Perry Mason* and other shows featuring courtroom procedure on jurors' perceptions of how trials are conducted and of the likely guilt or innocence of the accused. Perry Mason's client was always innocent and was ultimately rescued when the guilty party confessed. How many jurors expect something similar to happen in the trials on whose juries they sit? Joseph Oteri, a Boston lawyer and member of the American Bar Association's committee on television, has said that when he makes his summation to the jury he almost always reminds them that real trials are not like *Perry Mason.* "We poor lawyers can't force a confession out of someone we put on the stand."[6] Gerbner and Gross report that even lawyers' knowledge of courtroom procedures can be affected by television. They cite an instance in which an attorney used the classic Perry Mason objection that "the prosecutor is badgering the witness." The judge replied that this particular objection might work on *Perry Mason,* but "unfortunately, it was not included in the California code."[7]

Barnouw has argued that television drama's seeming realism is not meant to deceive but that it has that effect. It may never occur to many viewers to question whether a depiction is real. If they do, viewers may conclude that the show is "essentially 'true,' telling it 'like it is'."[8] This may account for the job applications received by the United Nations for positions at "U.N.C.L.E." precipitated by the series *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* [9] or the more than one-quarter of a million letters received by *Marcus Welby, M.D.,* most seeking medical advice.[10]

The apparent failure of viewers to distinguish fact from fiction has also led law professors Stephen Arons and Ethan Katsh of the University of Massachusetts to voice concern about the portrayal of "blatantly illegal and unconstitutional behavior of police officers [being] glorified by an endless stream of television police dramas."[11] Citing 43 separate scenes from 15 prime time police shows broadcast in March 1976 in which "serious questions could be raised about the propriety of the police action," Arons and Katsh argue that because television drama rarely shows the rights of innocent people being infringed upon, the average viewer might not recognize when his or her own rights are being violated in real life. Of even greater concern to Arons and Katsh is the possibility that illegal police activity shown on the television screen may—through repetition and because it is only the "bad guys" whose rights are violated—actually become legally acceptable police procedure in this nation.[12]

The acceptability of illegal police procedures may also be enhanced by the seeming realism of some of these programs. Barnouw describes some of the methods used to authenticate shows:

[4] Barnouw, *The Sponsor,* p. 104.
[5] Gerbner and Gross, "Living With Television," p. 178.
[6] "Lawyers Called Misleading on TV," *New York Times,* Dec. 28, 1975, sec. 2, p. 27.
[7] Gerbner and Gross, "Living With Television," pp. 178-179.
[8] Barnouw, *The Sponsor,* p. 104.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Gerbner and Gross, "Living With Television," p. 178.
[11] "Law Professors Fret About the Way TV Policemen Bend Law," *Broadcasting,* June 6, 1977, p. 43.
[12] Ibid.

> Many of the action-adventure series deal with crime, espionage, and war, often in a quasi-documentary fashion. Some crime series are "based on" the files of this or that police department; its actual buildings and badges are shown. On some, "only the names are changed to protect the innocent." At the end of each program of *The FBI,* allegedly dramatizing true victories over crime, we are told the exact sentences meted out to the criminals, even though a writer may have invented the case. The seal of the FBI is shown, and its Director thanked for his cooperation. In spy series there are references to various countries, and we see their famous buildings. The air of authenticity is everywhere.[13]

Television's Effect on Children

Barnouw claims that "disentangling fact from fiction may be almost impossible for many viewers."[14] If this is true for adults, what is the effect of a steady diet of "realistic" television drama on young children? Professors Bradley Greenberg and Byron Reeves attempted to answer this question in a study they conducted in May 1973 using 201 elementary school students in grades 3 through 6. The students, who came from a variety of income backgrounds, were all white.[15] Greenberg and Reeves posed the research question:

> If the child perceives program information to [be] realistic, to be socially useful, to be assimilated equitably with information from nontelevision sources, then television may blur the child's distinction between real and play. The question is more likely to be *how much is misperceived,* rather than if it is. We would wish to know both the basis for the child's acceptance of television stimuli as real-to-life and the potential impact on the child's attitudes and behaviors.[16]

Using a scale of 1 to 9 (9 representing maximum reality), Greenberg and Reeves found that the children perceive television content to be relatively realistic. Overall reality scores were: television families, 5.97; television policemen, 6.89; specific black characters (Link of *Mod Squad,* Lamont of *Sanford and Son,* and Mr. Dixon of *Room 222* averaged 7.27.[17] Greenberg and Reeves found significant differences in the degree of credulity among children, so that younger children (grades 3 and 4) find television more believable than older children (grades 5 and 6), and children who watch television relatively heavily find it more believable than children who watch it relatively lightly.[18]

Greenberg and Reeves found that real-life experience with parallel television content did not diminish the perceived reality of television. For example, "reported frequency of experience with black people was significantly correlated with higher perceived reality" about black television characters,[19] leading the researchers to suggest that early learning from television may "supersede as well as precede estimates of the true objects."[20] Thus, blacks, first experienced through television, may later be perceived and responded to on the basis of the child's television knowledge.[21]

Extensive research has been conducted to explore television's presumed effect on children, much of it in the area of televised violence and advertising directed toward children. While the results of this research are controversial, they nevertheless suggest that the potential effect of television on children is substantial.

In contrast, relatively little research has been done on the effect on children of the portrayal of minorities and women in television drama, but the available literature suggests that television's portrayal of minorities and women may also have an effect on children. The results of some of the major research programs are summarized below.

The Effect of Televised Violence on Children

The possible causal relationship of televised violence and subsequent aggressive activity in children has concerned social scientists, parents, and critics of television ever since television first became popular. Of particular concern was the fear that television could teach children how to undertake specific acts that otherwise might never occur to them. As early as 1949 Norman Cousins offered several examples in a *Saturday Review* column highly critical of television violence:

---

[13] Barnouw, *The Sponsor,* p. 104. Barnouw does not mention the practice, but the most recent effort to enhance authenticity has been dubbed "docu-drama," in which fiction and documentation are intentionally meshed, as in *Washington: Behind Closed Doors,* a television play based upon John Ehrlichman's novel.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Bradley S. Greenberg and Byron Reeves, "Children and the Perceived Reality of Television," *Journal of Social Issues,* vol. 32 (1976), p. 88.

[16] Ibid., pp. 86–7, emphasis added.

[17] Ibid., p. 90.

[18] Ibid., table 2, p. 92.

[19] Ibid., p. 90.

[20] Ibid., p. 94.

[21] Ibid.

> In a Boston suburb, a nine-year-old boy reluctantly showed his father a report card heavily decorated with red marks, then proposed one way of getting at the heart of the matter: they could give the teacher a box of poisoned chocolates for Christmas. "It's easy, Dad, they did it on television last week. A man wanted to kill his wife, so he gave her candy with poison in it and she didn't know who did it."
>
> In Brooklyn, New York, a six-year-old son of a policeman asked his father for real bullets because his little sister "doesn't die for real when I shoot her like they do when Hopalong Cassidy kills 'em."
>
> In Los Angeles, a housemaid caught a seven-year-old boy in the act of sprinkling ground glass into the family's lamb stew. There was no malice behind the act. It was purely experimental, having been inspired by curiosity to learn whether it would really work as well as it did on television.[22]

Numerous examples of various bizarre, violent behaviors that have imitated specifically identifiable television scenes have appeared in the news over the ensuing 30 years. A recent case in point is the rape of a young girl by four children who allegedly imitated a rape in the television movie *Born Innocent.* [23]

While researchers have been concerned about television's role in specific acts of imitated violence such as these, more attention has been devoted to the possibility that viewing excessive amounts of televised violence might result in an increased and generalized propensity of children to behave aggressively.

The major research effort directed toward testing this hypothesis was conducted under the auspices of the Surgeon General of the United States at the urging of former Senator John O. Pastore, then Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Communications of the Senate Commerce Committee.[24]

The *Surgeon General's Report* is based on 23 independent projects ranging in method from laboratory experiments in which children's reactions to televised violence were documented to field surveys in which children and their parents were interviewed about their viewing behavior. The resulting papers appear in five separately published volumes accompanying the report.[25]

The results of all these various studies led the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee to conclude, albeit tentatively, that a causal relationship appeared to exist between televised violence and aggressiveness in children who are predisposed to be aggressive:

> Thus, there is a convergence of the fairly substantial experimental evidence for *short-run* causation of aggression among some children by viewing violence on the screen and the much less certain evidence from field studies that extensive violence viewing precedes some *long-run* manifestations of aggressive behavior. This convergence of the two types of evidence constitutes some preliminary indication of a causal relationship, but a good deal of research remains to be done before one can have confidence in these conclusions.[26]

This cautious conclusion was denounced by many of the scientists who conducted the studies on which the report had been based. Charging that the Advisory Committee had been "rigged to favor the television industry,"[27] the scientists argued that their

---

[22] Norman Cousins, "The Time-Trap," *Saturday Review*, Dec. 24, 1949, p. 20.

[23] "TV On Trial for Inciting Real-Life Rape," *Washington Post*, July 31, 1978, p. A3. In a suit against NBC brought by the victim and her parents asking $11 million in damages, NBC argued that there was evidence to suggest that the children had never seen the movie, and, in any event, the program was protected by the First Amendment. "NBC Wins Round in 'Born Innocent' TV Violence Case," *Washington Post*, Aug. 3, 1978, p. A3. Superior Court Judge Robert L. Dossee held that to win the case against NBC the plaintiff would have to prove that NBC had intentionally incited the rape. The plaintiff had wanted to plead "civil accountability. . .for foreseeable results" of broadcasting the rape scene during the family hour. "Judge Sets Stage for Dismissal of TV Violence Trial," *Washington Post*, Aug. 8, 1978, p. A6. Judge Dossee subsequently dismissed the case, however, the plaintiffs intend to appeal the ruling. "TV Violence Case Dismissed," *Washington Post*, Aug. 9, 1978, p. A2. Although the case was dismissed, a basic question remained: "Many Americans may be expected to wonder what could have motivated [a 15-year-old girl] aided by two other girls and a boy, ages 10 to 15, to pin down [the victim], 9, on a sand dune and rape her with a beer bottle. If it wasn't the 2-1/2-minute scene in 'Born Innocent' that graphically portrayed a girl, aided by three others using the wooden handle of a plumber's plunger to rape the star, Linda Blair, in a reformatory shower room, what was it?" "Worries About TV Violence Persist: Suit Against NBC Raised Questions Jury Never Got a Chance to Decide," *Washington Post*, Aug. 14, 1978, p. A2.

[24] The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence*, report to the Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, Jan. 19, 1972, p. 21.

[25] George A. Comstock and Eli A. Rubinstein, eds. *Television and Social Behavior:* vol. 1, *Media Content and Control* ; vol. 2, *Television and Social Learning* ; vol. 3, *Television and Adolescent Aggressiveness* ; vol. 4, *Television in Day-to-Day Life: Patterns of Use* ; vol. 5, *Television's Effects: Further Explorations*, Technical Reports to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior (Rockville, Md.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1972).

[26] Ibid., pp. 17–18.

[27] "Violence Revisited," *Newsweek*, Mar. 6, 1972, p. 55. The networks had been given the opportunity to suggest that certain scientists were "inappropriate" for the Advisory Committee. Seven candidates whose previous research demonstrated causal links between television violence and subsequent aggressive behavior in children were "vetoed" by the industry; however, five social scientists who worked for (or who had former connections with) the networks served on the 12-person committee. Ibid.

findings "did, in fact, establish a clear and direct link between TV violence and youthful, antisocial behavior," and furthermore had been "softened" by the Committee in its conclusion.[28] Others have suggested, however, that the language was "properly cautious" and "academic."[29]

Research on televised violence continues and researchers still disagree,[30] but there has been fairly widespread agreement that television violence should be decreased. At Senate hearings held after the *Surgeon General's Report* was released, all three network presidents agreed that the report "warranted both serious consideration and appropriate action."[31] Vincent Wasilewski, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, testified: "Even if the great majority of our children are unaffected by television violence, and even if only a small fraction are negatively affected, we recognize the need to determine how the negative effects can be alleviated."[32] At these same hearings Jesse Steinfeld, then Surgeon General, testified:

> The data on social phenomena such as television and violence and/or aggressive behavior will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on the formulation of a succinct statement of causality. But there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come.[33]

The Effect of Television Advertising on Children

A second area of concern about possible harmful effects of television has been in the area of advertising, particularly advertising directed to young children. The effect of advertising on children has been summarized in a staff report, *Television Advertising to Children,* [34] prepared in conjunction with the Federal Trade Commission's (FTC) proposed rulemaking on children's advertising.[35] The staff report concludes that "Television advertising exerts a strong influence over children."[36] Emphasizing that in 1976 "advertisers spent roughly one-half billion dollars on advertising directed to children,"[37] the report suggests that if advertising were not effective, advertisers would not spend so lavishly on it.[38]

Among the reasons offered for the success of advertising directed toward children is that they are suggestible.[39] Their gullibility, even at relatively advanced ages, is exemplified in the following story quoted from a book prepared by two advertisers on effective advertising directed at children:

> Perhaps the example for all times of how easy it can be [to manipulate children via television] is the incident that took place on New Year's day of 1965.
>
> Soupy Sales, then a popular children's TV entertainer with an early morning program for moppets, looked his fans right in the eye and in a low and conspiratorial voice asked: "Is Daddy asleep? He is? Good! Find his wallet and slip out some of those funny green pieces of paper with all those nice pictures of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Alexander Hamilton, and send them along to your old pal, Soupy, care of WNEW, New York."
>
> The next day the mail began to pour in. But before Soupy could retire to a life of wealth and ease after the biggest heist since the Boston Brink's robbery, the long arm of a humorless station management descended on him and his producer, suspending them both.
>
> Soupy's heist was, of course, an unexpected result of what had been intended as a harmless gag.[40]

---

[28] Ibid.

[29] Eli A. Rubinstein, "Warning! The Surgeon General's Research Program May Be Dangerous to Preconceived Notions," *Journal of Social Issues,* vol. 32 (1976), p. 25.

[30] For example, in a lengthy review of television violence literature published in 1976, Robert M. Kaplan of San Diego State University and Robert D. Singer of the University of California at Riverside concluded that there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate a causal relationship between television violence and real-life violence. "Television Violence and Viewer Aggression: A Reexamination of the Evidence," *Journal of Social Issues,* vol. 32 (1976), p. 63.

[31] Rubinstein, "Warning," p. 29.

[32] U.S., Senate Committee on Commerce, Subcommittee on Communications, *Surgeon General's Report by the Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior* (1972), p. 228, as quoted in Rubinstein, "Warning," p. 29.

[33] Ibid., p. 31.

[34] *FTC Staff Report on Television Advertising to Children* (1978) (hereafter cited as *Television Advertising to Children*).

[35] U.S., Federal Trade Commission, Proposed Trade Regulation Rulemaking and Public Hearing on Children's Advertising, 43 Fed. Reg. 17,967 (1978).

[36] *Television Advertising to Children,* p. 78.

[37] Alan Pearce, "Television Advertising and Children: An Assessment of the Impact on Network Revenues of Two Reductions in Advertising" (paper presented at ACT Symposium, No. 6, Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 20–23, 1976), p. 17, quoted in *Television Advertising to Children,* p. 80.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 82.

[40] Melvin Helitzer and Carl Heyel, *The Youth Market, Its Dimensions, Influence, and Opportunities for You* (1970), pp. 21–22, quoted in *Television Advertising to Children,* pp. 81–82 (interpolation by FTC staff).

Children are suggestible, especially when they are very young, in part because they believe the television characters are real,[41] are talking directly to them,[42] and are trustworthy.[43] One advertising executive has argued: "on a rational level children know these [various advertising] claims are not literally true, but [they are effective because] the commercials [succeed] in creating an aura about the brand that gives the brand a special and highly desirable significance."[44]

Most advertising directed at children is for products such as sugar-coated cereals, candies, and other sweet snack foods;[45] one study found that 96 percent of all food advertising on Saturday and Sunday children's programs during the first 9 months of 1975 was for sweets.[46] The FTC staff report demonstrates a relationship between this advertising and children's consumption of the advertised products. The research the report cites shows that these advertisements are effective in that (a) children's requests for specific, brand-name cereals and snack foods are frequently, if not usually, honored by their parents; (b) very high proportions of children are able to name specific (heavily advertised) brands as their favorites;[47] (c) when asked to list acceptable snacks, high proportions of children mention cookies, candy, cake, and ice cream, including specific (heavily advertised) products;[48] (d) U.S. consumption of snack desserts has increased markedly since 1962, and significant proportions of the purchases are made by children;[49] (e) the per capita consumption of sugar has increased by 13 percent since 1960—from 111 pounds in 1960 to 126 pounds in 1976 and is estimated to have been 128 pounds in 1977;[50] (f) much of this increase may be disproportionately accounted for by children, since the use of artificial sweeteners such as Saccharin has also increased markedly since 1960. Presuming that use of artificial sweeteners displaces a given quantity of sugar in the diets of those using them, and presuming that children are not heavily represented among the users of artificial sweeteners, it has been suggested children are "taking up the slack."[51]

The Effect of the Portrayal of Minorities and Women on Children

Television advertising appears to have a major influence on children's beliefs about the appropriateness of various foods, their desire for them, and their consumption of them. Research on violence in television drama suggests that it, too, has an effect on children's behavior. Relatively little research has been conducted on the effects on children of television's portrayal of minorities and women. However, public interest groups representing minorities and women have expressed concern about television's cultural impact on children. For example, Gerald Wilkinson, director of the National Indian Youth Council, has written that Indians need greater input into television content because "Indian young people will act out not what their parents and grandparents say is Indian, but what the subtleties of TV dictate to be Indian."[52] Although research on the effect of television on children's concepts of minorities and women is limited, it suggests, for example, that children's perception of the appropriateness of certain occupations for women and minorities may be influenced by television[53] and that the portrayal of minorities in comic roles may have a deleterious effect on children's attitudes.[54]

A related research program on the television viewing behavior of black, Hispanic, and Anglo children provides additional insight into the nature of television's impact on them. Dr. Bradley S. Greenberg and Dr. Charles K. Atkin of Michigan State University have conducted a series of studies, the results of which are summarized in a paper entitled "Learning About Minorities from Television." This summary contains selected results from their most recent research program in which 600 students in the fourth, sixth, and eighth grades were interviewed about television. The children, from San Jose, California, and Detroit, Michigan, consisted of

[41] Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, *Television in the Lives of Our Children*, (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 77.
[42] *Television Advertising to Children*, p. 84.
[43] Ibid., p. 91.
[44] William Wells, "Communicating with Children," *Journal of Advertising Research*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1965), p. 13, quoted in *Television Advertising to Children*, p. 62.
[45] *Television Advertising to Children*, p. 58.
[46] Ibid., p. 57.
[47] Ibid., p. 97.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., pp. 99–100.
[50] Ibid., p. 105.
[51] Ibid., p. 108.
[52] Timonthy Feder, "National American Media Training Projects Fill Communications Vacuum," *access* 52, June 1977, p. 4.
[53] Jeffries-Fox and Signorielli, "Television and Children's Conceptions of Occupations," pp. 16–20. Lemon, "Women and Blacks on Prime-Time Television," pp. 70–79. See also, Melvin L. De Fleur and Lois B. De Fleur, "The Relative Contribution of Television as a Learning Source for Children's Occupational Knowledge," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 32 (1967), p. 789.
[54] Reeves and Lometti, "The Dimensional Structure of Children's Perception of Television Characters: A Replication," pp. 1–13.

350 whites and 250 blacks. In addition, Greenberg and Atkin also report research results from other studies, some of which subdivided their respondents by income level.[55] In one study, Hispanic children are included in the sample. Using these studies as a basis, Greenberg and Atkin report several findings regarding children's use of and reactions to television.

Greenberg and Atkin find that children, particularly low-income black children, devote a great deal of time to television.[56] In one study of 9- to 10-year-olds, poor black children averaged 7 hours of television per day, poor white children averaged 6 hours per day, and middle-income white children averaged 4 hours per day.[57] In a study of teenage viewing, middle-income whites averaged 3 1/2 hours of television per day, low-income whites averaged 4 1/2 hours, and low-income black teenagers devoted 6 hours to television.[58]

The greater number of hours that poor children devote to television is associated with an increased tendency on their part to believe in the reality of television. Greenberg and Atkin report data showing that all groups of children are impressionable and substantial percentages of both minority and majority children use television to inform themselves about real life. Low-income minority children, however, show a somewhat greater tendency to accept television as real than do middle-income, majority children.[59] In one study contrasting the responses of 4- to 7-year-olds, low-income Hispanic children showed a greater tendency than middle-income Anglo children to:

> trust the nutritional expertise of cartoon characters (Fred Flintstone and Barney Rubble) who endorsed a pre-sweetened cereal, were more likely to believe the implied claim that sugared cereal would make them big and strong, were more likely to feel that these cereals were more fun and healthful, and were more influenced by the persuasive arguments presented in the commercials.[60]

In a study of perceived reality of televised fiction, both white and black children indicated fairly high levels of acceptance of television fiction as being like "real life."[61] In response to a variety of questions about television portrayals and "real life," black children's "yes" responses ranged from 22 to 60 percent and those of white children ranged from 15 percent to 52 percent.[62] The statement receiving the highest proportion of "yes" answers from both black and white children was, "The jobs men and women do on TV are like the jobs they do in real life."[63] High proportions of both white and black children responded that "they watch television to learn how different people behave, talk, dress, and look"—whites, 38 percent; blacks, 50 percent—and "to learn what police, doctors, secretaries, and nurses are like"—whites, 39 percent; blacks, 52 percent.[64]

Although Greenberg and Atkin find that television serves a major socializing role for all children, the part it plays in the lives of minority children, particularly low-income minority children, appears to be fairly large. In concluding their paper, they recommend that extensive research on "television and the minority child" and the "impact of minority characters" on minority and nonminority children be conducted.[65]

The Role of the Federal Communications Commission

The Federal Communications Commission is the agency authorized to regulate the broadcasting industry and to assure that programs serve the "public convenience, interest and necessity."[66] Although the FCC is empowered to "[p]rescribe the nature of the service to be rendered by each class of licensed stations and each station within any class,"[67] it is precluded from issuing rules "which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication."[68]

The FCC is confronted with a very basic dilemma with respect to television's effect on children. On the one hand, there is the widely accepted belief that television has a profound effect on children and that

[55] Bradley S. Greenberg and Charles K. Atkin, "Learning About Minorities from Television: The Research Agenda" (Michigan State University, Department of Communication) April 1978.
[56] Ibid., p. 9.
[57] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., p. 13.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., p. 14.
[63] Ibid. Greenberg and Atkin report that in addition to the "yes" choices, an additional 30 to 40 percent of the children responded that they were "not sure." Greenberg and Atkin suggest that the "yes" answers may underestimate their degree of belief in the reality of television.
[64] Ibid., p. 15.
[65] Ibid., p. 46.
[66] 47 U.S.C. §307(a) (1970).
[67] 47 U.S.C. §303(b) (1970).
[68] 47 U.S.C. §326 (1970).

they deserve at least a modicum of protection. On the other hand, television programs enjoy the protection of the First Amendment and section 326 of the Communications Act. Action for Children's Television (ACT), a well-organized group of parents and other concerned citizens, has petitioned the FCC to adopt rules designed, among other things, to eliminate television advertising directed toward children.[69] Both the House and Senate subcommittees on communications have directed the FCC to explore the possibility of adopting rules to reduce the level of televised violence.[70] Finally, this Commission has recommended that the FCC conduct an inquiry and proposed rulemaking on the portrayal of minorities and women in television drama.[71]

The second part of this chapter discusses the FCC's responses to each of these initiatives in light of the constraints placed upon it by the First Amendment and section 326.

The First Amendment and Children's Television

It was the special susceptibility of children that led the FCC initially to inquire into the possibility of making rules with respect to children's television programs. Responding to a petition for rulemaking submitted by Action for Children's Television (ACT) in 1970, the FCC conducted an inquiry on the feasibility of (1) eliminating commercial sponsorship of children's television; (2) proscribing performers (host, talent, characters) from endorsing or even mentioning products, services, or stores on children's programs (a practice known as "host-selling"); and (3) requiring stations to broadcast a minimum of 14 hours per week of programs specifically designed for children, during weekdays as well as weekends and for children of various ages: preschool (ages 2 to 5), primary (ages 6 to 9), and elementary (ages 10 to 12).[72]

When critics objected to the FCC's conducting an inquiry and rulemaking on programming issues such as these—on the grounds that to do so would violate both the First Amendment and section 326 of the Communications Act—the FCC acknowledged its limitations, but asserted that the public interest issues inherent wherever children are concerned justified undertaking the inquiry:

> We recognize the importance and significance of these pronouncements [regarding the First Amendment and section 326] and the concepts expressed in them. It may be that, ultimately, we will conclude that they substantially limit otherwise appropriate Commission action in this area. But it is also apparent that there are high public interest considerations involved in the use of television, perhaps the most powerful communications medium ever devised, in relation to a large and important segment of the audience, the nation's children. The importance of this portion of the audience, and the character of material reaching it, are particularly great because its ideas and concepts are largely not yet crystallized and are therefore open to suggestion, and also because its members do not yet have the experience and judgment always to distinguish the real from the fanciful.[73]

The FCC investigated the issues in the ACT petition for 3 years. It held panel discussions and heard oral arguments (resulting in a 1,252-page transcript) and received over 100,000 letters from citizens and enough other filings to fill an additional 63 docket volumes.[74]

When the FCC issued its resulting report and policy statement, it reserved a sizable section for an analysis of the dilemma it confronted in making rules on children's programs and advertising. This discussion is instructive, since it reveals the FCC's reasoning with regard to these issues.

First, the FCC established that it had the right to "[m]ake such rules and regulations and prescribe such restrictions and conditions, not inconsistent with the law, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act."[75]

Second, it noted that the Supreme Court has determined that the First Amendment does not preclude the FCC from interesting itself in program content:

> [T]he [Communications] Act does not restrict the Commission merely to the supervision of the traffic. It puts upon the Commission the burden of determining the composition of that traffic. The facilities of radio are not large enough to

[69] U.S., Federal Communications Commission, Notice of Inquiry and Notice of Proposed Rulemaking In Re Children's Television, 28 F.C.C.2d 368 (1971) (hereafter cited as *Children's Television Inquiry I*).
[70] H.R. Rep. No. 139, 93d Cong., 2d Sess. 15 (1974) and S. Rep. No. 1056, 93d Cong., 2d Sess. 10 (1974).
[71] *Window Dressing*, p. 150.
[72] *Children's Television Inquiry I*, at 368.
[73] *Children's Television Inquiry I*, at 369–70.
[74] U.S., Federal Communications Commission, Children's Television Programs Report and Policy Statement, 50 F.C.C. 2d 1, 2 (1974), (hereafter cited as *Children's Television Report*).
[75] 47 U.S.C. §303(r) (1970).

> accommodate all who wish to use them. Methods must be devised for choosing from among the many who apply. . . .
>
> If the criterion of "public interest" were limited to [financial and technical issues], how could the Commission choose between two applicants for the same facilities, each of whom is financially and technically qualified to operate a station?[76]

The FCC also pointed out that in a more recent decision the Supreme Court reiterated the position that the First Amendment does not prevent the FCC from "interesting itself in general program format and the kinds of programs broadcast by licensees."[77]

While it has the authority to make rules in the area of program content, the FCC noted that its powers in this regard are not unlimited. Broadcasting has been expressly singled out by the Supreme Court as a medium of communication that is protected by the First Amendment.[78]

Finally, the FCC reported that its method of resolving the dilemma posed by its responsibility to make rules regarding programming and First Amendment protection of program content is to assert a variety of positive duties that broadcasters must fulfill in serving the public interest.[79] The FCC noted that this approach had been approved by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia:

> [I]n applying the public interest standard to programming, the Commission walks a tightrope between saying too much and saying too little. *In most cases it has resolved this dilemma by imposing only general affirmative duties—e.g., to strike a balance between various interests of the community, or to provide a reasonable amount of time for the presentation of programs devoted to the discussion of public issues.* The licensee has broad discretion in giving specific content to these duties. . . .Given its long-established authority to consider program content, this approach probably minimizes the dangers of censorship or pervasive supervision.[80]

The FCC then provided a number of examples of its having applied the affirmative duty approach. In *Great Lakes Broadcasting Co.* , the Commission asserted that broadcasters have a duty to provide a "balanced" or "well-rounded" program service.[81] In 1960 the FCC issued a statement of policy regarding programming. The statement listed 14 "major elements usually necessary to meet the public interest, needs and desires of the community."[82] Among the 14 were educational programs, political broadcasts, public affairs programs, entertainment, service to minority groups, and programs for children.

The FCC noted that the Supreme Court, in *Red Lion,* supported the principle that the FCC could recommend program categories. The Court also supported the FCC's fairness doctrine, that broadcasters have an affirmative obligation to devote "a reasonable percentage" of broadcast time to controversial issues of public importance: "the Commission is not powerless to insist that [broadcasters] give adequate. . .attention to public issues."[83]

Not only did the FCC draw support for its programming categories from the *Red Lion* case, it also professed to see a resolution of the First Amendment dilemma in the Court's discussion of the First Amendment rights of viewers and listeners and the responsibilities of broadcasters:

> While the holding of the *Red Lion* case was limited to the fairness doctrine, the Court's opinion has a significance which reaches far beyond the category of programming dealing with public issues. The Court resolved the First Amendment issue in broadcasting by stating that "[i]t is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount." *Id.* at 390. It stated further that "[i]t is the right of the public to receive suitable access to social, political, esthetic, moral and other ideas and experiences which is crucial here. That right may not constitutionally be abridged either by Congress or by the FCC." Id. This language, in our judgment, clearly points to a wide range of programming responsibilities on the part of the broadcaster.[84]

One of the responsibilities broadcasters must meet, the FCC asserted, is its obligation to serve children:

> [B]ecause of their immaturity and their special needs, children require programming designed specifically for them. Accordingly, we expect television broadcasters as trustees of a valuable

[76] National Broadcasting Co. v. United States, 319 U.S. 190, 215, 216–17 (1943).
[77] Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C., 395 U.S. 367, 390 (1969).
[78] United States v. Paramount Pictures, Inc., 334 U.S. 131, 166 (1948).
[79] Children's Television Report, at 3.
[80] Banzhaf v. F.C.C., 405 F.2d 1082, 1095 (D.C. Cir. 1968), *cert denied sub nom.* Tobacco Institute v. F.C.C., 396 U.S. 842 (1969) (emphasis added).
[81] 3 F.R.C. Ann. Rep. 32, 34 (1929), *rev'd. on other grounds* 37 F.2d 993, *cert. dismissed* 281 U.S. 706 (1930). See also FCC, "Report on Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees" (1946) pp. 12–13.
[82] Report and Statement of Policy Re: Commission En Banc Programming Inquiry, 44 F.C.C. 2303, 2314 (1960).
[83] Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C., 395 U.S. 367, 393 (1969).
[84] *Children's Television Report*, at 5.

> public resource to develop and present programs which will serve the unique needs of the child audience.[85]

Following its line of reasoning, the FCC adopted no specific rules with regard to children's television and advertising. Instead, it adopted a series of expectations, or "affirmative duties," of broadcasters. For example, ACT had called for a minimum of 14 hours of programming directed at children. The FCC declined to set a minimum limit. Instead, the FCC chided broadcasters who offered no children's programming, and it urged all broadcasters "to make a meaningful effort in this area."[86]

The FCC also acknowledged and approved efforts made within the broadcast industry to end practices to which ACT had objected. One of these was "host-selling." In response to a change in the NAB code to eliminate host-selling, the FCC stated:

> The Commission does not believe that the use of a program host, or other program personality, to promote products in the program in which he appears is a practice which is consistent with licensees' obligation to operate in the public interest. One effect of "host-selling" is to interweave the program and the commercial, exacerbating the difficulty children have distinguishing between the two. In addition, the practice allows advertisers to take unfair advantage of the trust which children place in program characters.[87]

The Commission concluded its proceeding by exhorting broadcasters to place children first and profits second and by announcing that it planned to evaluate broadcasters responses to the policy statement in the future.[88]

The FCC recently issued a second notice of inquiry on children's programming and advertising practices[89] in which it requests information on a wide variety of issues regarding the quantity and scheduling of children's programs and the degree and nature of commercialization associated with them. The information is expected to assist the FCC "in determining whether self-regulation has been effective, whether our present children's programming and advertising policies are sufficient, and whether additional actions by the Commission are necessary to ensure licensee compliance with our guidelines."[90] It would appear that the FCC does not rule out the possibility of making rules on programming and advertising directed toward children.

Violence, the Family Hour, and the First Amendment

Congress has expressed concern about the possible negative effects of televised violence on children since the early 1950s and has held a number of hearings exploring the problem.[91] By 1974 the *Surgeon General's Report* on televised violence and its effect on children had been around for 2 years. Nevertheless, television movies like *Born Innocent* were still being broadcast at early hours when large numbers of children were likely to be watching. Emotions were high and pressure for change was increasing. James E. Duffy, president of the ABC television network, reflected some of the concern in a speech made on October 23, 1974:

> [T]he race for audience ratings too often blinds us to our basic responsibilities. And in serving ourselves, we often do great disservice to our viewers. . . .Yes, a program like "Born Innocent" should be shown. But, no, it should not be shown at such an early hour. . .when children more often than not control the dial.[92]

Senate and House committees on a number of occasions had requested the FCC to initiate rulemaking proceedings on the issue of violence and sex on television, but the Commission had failed to do so. In May 1974 former FCC Chairman Richard E. Wiley wrote a letter to then Senator John O. Pastore requesting that any proceeding of the FCC be delayed until a National Institute of Mental Health study of television violence—just then getting under way—could reach "a meaningful stage."[93]

---

[85] *Id.*
[86] *Id.* at 6.
[87] *Id.* at 19.
[88] *Id.* at 19.
[89] U.S., Federal Communications Commission, Second Notice of Inquiry in the Matter of Children's Programming and Advertising Practices, Docket No. 19142, Aug. 16, 1978.
[90] *Id.* at 11-12.
[91] See e.g., U.S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, Subcommittee on Communications, *Hearing on Violence on Television* 93d Cong., 2d Sess. (1974); *Hearings in Review of Policy Matters of Federal Communications Commission and Inquiry into Crime and Violence on Television and a Proposed Study Thereof by the Surgeon General*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., ser. 91, pt. 6 (1969); Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, *Hearings for the Investigation of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States*, 88th Cong., 2d Sess., pt. 16 (1964); *Hearings for the Investigation of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States*, 87th Cong., 1st & 2d Sess. pt. 10 (1961-62); *Hearings for the Investigation of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States*, 84th Cong., 1st Sess. (1955) and 83d Cong., 2d Sess. (1954).
[92] This quotation is taken verbatim from a United States district court case. Writer's Guild of America, West, Inc. v. F.C.C., 423 F. Supp. 1064, 1095 (1976). NBC, not ABC, broadcast *Born Innocent*.
[93] Ibid.

Soon after, Chairman Wiley determined that "the time is not now," both the House and Senate appropriations committees, not prepared to wait, instructed the FCC to take action by the end of the year.[94] The action the FCC took resulted in the "Family Viewing Hour."[95] As the circumstances under which the family hour was adopted appeared questionable and because it was concerned, among other things, about possible violation of the First Amendment, the Writers' Guild of America, West, sued the Federal Communications Commission.[96] The central issue raised in this case is to what extent and by what means the FCC is authorized to take action that results in a reduction of violence in television programs that children are likely to watch. The issue is directly applicable to one of the concerns raised in this report—to what extent and by what means is the FCC authorized to take action that results in an increase in the numbers of minorities and women in television drama and greater diversity in the manner in which they are portrayed. A detailed review of the case will shed light on this issue.

The specific instruction that was delivered to the FCC by Congress was "to submit a report to the Committee outlining specific positive actions taken or planned by the Commission to protect children from excessive programming of violence and obscenity."[97] Chairman Wiley is reported to have been reluctant to institute formal inquiry and rulemaking proceedings because of "a deep belief that constitutional, statutory and prudential considerations dictated that government had no proper role to play."[98]

Chairman Wiley assigned staff to determine "how the Commission can set about to comply with the House Committee's request,"[99] but the court found that he proceeded to follow an independent strategy that included meeting privately with the network heads and representatives of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) to discuss possible solutions. His strategy also included a good deal of public jawboning.[100]

The jawboning, according to the court, was "designed to bring Commission pressure to bear on the industry."[101] In a speech to the Illinois Broadcasters Association, for example, Chairman Wiley discussed "the question of violence and obscenity on television—particularly as to the effect of such presentations on our children."[102] He suggested rather directly that if broadcasters were not prepared to take action in the form of "intelligent scheduling, appropriate warnings, and, perhaps, even some kind of industry-administered rating program," the FCC would have to take action: "[I]f self-regulation does not work, governmental action to protect the public may be required—whether you like it or whether I like it."[103]

The court determined that Chairman Wiley's speeches and other public comments threatening regulatory action[104] combined with his meetings with network executives and NAB representatives constituted sufficient pressure to cause the networks and the NAB to adopt the family viewing hour:

> The court finds that Chairman Wiley in the course of his campaign threatened the industry with regulatory action if it did not adopt the essence of his scheduling proposals. On some occasions, when the persuasive demands of the situation so dictated, he would withdraw his threats or assume a low profile. But the Commission's pressure in this case was persistent, pronounced, and unmistakable. Chairman Wiley's actions were the direct cause of the implementation of the family viewing policy: were it not for the pressure he exerted, it would not have been adopted by any of the networks nor by the NAB. The threat of regulatory action

[94] H.R. Rep. No. 1139, 93d Cong., 2d Sess. 15 (1974) and S. Rep. No. 1056, 93d Cong., 2d Sess. 10 (1974).

[95] The "Family Viewing Hour," a time period ending at 9 p.m. in the Eastern, Pacific, and Mountain time zones and at 8 p.m. in the Central time zone, is a time when programs suitable for the entire family are aired.

[96] 423 F. Supp. 1064 (1976).

[97] Writers Guild of America, West, Inc. v. F.C.C., 423 F. Supp. 1064, 1095 (1976) (hereafter cited as *Writers Guild*).

[98] *Id.* at 1096.

[99] *Id.*

[100] *Id.* at 1097-98.

[101] *Id.* at 1098.

[102] *Id.*

[103] *Id.*

[104] The court opinion gave several examples, including Chairman Wiley's speech to the Radio and Television Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention on Feb. 13, 1975, in which he threatened Federal regulation if the family hour principle recently adopted by the networks was not approved by the NAB television board of directors. The court added emphasis to those portions of Wiley's speech to which it wished to call attention:

> A number of interested citizens and some members of Congress contend that the problem of violence on television is so serious as to warrant some remedial action by the Federal Communications Commission. While I understand and share such concern, I cannot agree that specific governmental regulation in this highly sensitive First Amendment area would be desirable *at the present time*. Instead, my view has been that the FCC— *in the discharge of its public interest responsibilities* and consistent with its authority under the Communications Act—can play a constructive role *at this point* by focusing increased industry attention on the issue and by encouraging the consideration of self-regulatory reforms. [emphasis added]
>
> Recent events make it appear that our initiative has been successful and that the broadcast industry intends to regulate itself *in order to obviate the need or demand for governmental action in this area.* [emphasis added] Id. at 1117-18.

was not only a substantial factor leading to its adoption but a crucial, necessary, and indispensable cause.[105]

The court found that his pressure constituted "informal coercion" and "lawless conduct" in violation of the First Amendment.[106]

Signficantly, the court also determined that the FCC had failed to follow proper procedures such as issuing a formal notice of proposed rulemaking.[107] In such a proceeding, all interested parties, including parents and other concerned citizens, would have been able to participate. In the informal proceeding initiated by Chairman Wiley, however, the court found that everyone but the network heads and the NAB was excluded:

> On November 29, 1974, former Commissioner Nicholas Johnson wrote in his capacity as Chairman of the National Citizens' Committee for Broadcasting to Chairman Wiley. He asked that the Chairman "afford the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting or other representatives of the public the right to observe any further negotiations between the Commission and the television networks with respect to so-called 'sex and violence' in programming." The Chairman's response was straightforward. He wrote: "I do not believe that any useful purpose would be served by opening these meetings to outside groups such as your own." The Chairman preferred closed door negotiating sessions with selected industry leaders, sessions which excluded the creative community, the independent television stations, representatives of public interest groups, and the public at large.[108]

Congress enacted the Administrative Procedures Act "to settle and regulate the field of Federal administrative law and procedure" and thereby set forth "legal guides" summarizing "minimum basic essentials" required of Federal agencies.[109] The procedures for formulating a new public policy include the publication of a notice of proposed rulemaking in the *Federal Register* and affording all interested persons the opportunity to submit written comments. When rules are eventually issued, the agency must issue a policy statement providing the basis for the rules.

The court found in *Writers Guild* that the FCC had violated the Administrative Procedures Act:

> Here, ironically, the government and the networks, both acting as public trustees, negotiated public policy while refusing to comply with procedural safeguards designed to protect the public they serve. If this process is considered acceptable administrative procedure, the Act's provisions will become meaningless. The government could sit down at a table with the regulated industry, negotiate policy, delegate to the industry the power to enforce the policy, mouth empty words of congratulation about self-regulation, issue cynical denials of government responsibility, and avoid the Act entirely. Such procedures would permit government and industry to seal out the public from the decisionmaking process and to frustrate judicial scrutiny.[110]

In sum, the FCC sought to avoid what it saw as a possible violation of the First Amendment by coaxing the industry to adopt a policy that might help to alleviate the effect on children of violent television programs. Not only did its coaxing result in a violation of the First Amendment, but, in itself, it constituted a violation of the Administrative Procedures Act. In the end, the FCC might have done better to have complied with Congress' original request; that is, "to determine what its powers were 'in the area of program violence. . . .'"[111]

The Portrayal of Minorities and Women on Television and the First Amendment

This Commission proposed in its earlier report, *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television,* that the FCC conduct an inquiry and proposed rulemaking on the portrayal of minorities and women in television drama. In supporting this recommendation, this Commission relied on data obtained from the Annenberg School of Communications of the University of Pennsylvania. These data, derived from content analyses of 1-week samples of prime time commercial television drama broadcast during the years 1969 through 1974, showed continuing exclusion, underrepresentation, and stereotyping of women and minorities.[112] *Window Dressing* also reported that, while the impact of these portrayals had not yet been established, the

[105] *Id.* at 1094.
[106] *Id.* at 1149.
[107] *Id.* at 1151.
[108] *Id.* at 1101.
[109] S. Rep. No. 752, 79th Cong. 1st Sess. 1, 7 (1945). The procedures are set forth in 5 U.S.C. §553.
[110] *Writers Guild,* at 1152.
[111] *Id.* at 1117, footnote omitted.
[112] *Window Dressing,* pp. 27–43.

studies that had thus far been conducted raised many difficult questions regarding potential effects that deserved further research.[113]

This Commission also reviewed the FCC's role in regulating programming in the public interest. FCC programming policy, as it has developed throughout the years, is that programming be well-balanced, diversified, and fair.[114] This Commission did not find that television programming is well-balanced, diversified, or fair in its portrayal of women and minorities. Indeed, it found the opposite.[115]

In comments prepared prior to the publication of *Window Dressing,* the FCC agreed that "that the lack of adequate role models may have an adverse effect on minorities and women,"[116] but expressed skepticism regarding any role the FCC might play with respect to the portrayal of minorities and women in television drama. Its basic position was that the First Amendment and section 326 of the Communications Act precluded the FCC from taking any action.[117] Recent court decisions suggest, however, that the FCC's initial negative reaction to undertaking an inquiry and proposed rulemaking may have reflected an overly narrow interpretation of its authority.

The idea of a rulemaking proceeding regarding the portrayal of women was first raised by former FCC Commissioner Benjamin Hooks in his separate statement in *National Broadcasting Co., Inc.,* the case in which the National Organization for Women charged, among other things, that WRC–TV, a television station owned by NBC, was broadcasting programs that stereotyped women.[118] Commissioner Hooks noted that he was "[k]eenly aware of our limitations with respect to qualitative review of programming," but he asserted that the FCC had "nonetheless bridged the gap when it comes to demanding that programming be responsive to the needs of identifiable interest groups."[119] Drawing a parallel with the recently completed Children's Television Inquiry, Commissioner Hooks urged a similar proceeding regarding the portrayal of women:

> From the standpoint of dispassionate logic, there exists no basis to distinguish our examination of the status of children and television programming (and subsequent spleen venting) from the similar review of the status of women and television programs. The parallelism, like it or not, is unavoidable.[120]

The United States court of appeals, in a subsequent review of the FCC's decision to renew WRC–TV's license, drew on Commissioner Hooks' suggestion by observing that NOW's "grievances" about the way television portrays women "are regarded as endemic of television institutionally" and might more appropriately be considered in "an overall inquiry. . .on this subject." The court agreed that "an industry-wide problem may be more appropriately aired and an industry-wide remedy formulated in a general inquiry, such as a rulemaking."[121] Although the court did not order the FCC to conduct such a proceeding, it clearly suggested that such an undertaking was within FCC authority: "The decision whether to institute industry-wide studies, such as the Commission's wide-ranging inquiry into children's programming and advertising practices, still rests largely in the discretion of the Commission."[122]

In *Writers Guild,* the United States district court ruled that the FCC violated the First Amendment when it pressured broadcasters to adopt the family hour as a means of reducing the effect of television violence on children.[123] Significantly, however, the court refused to rule that the FCC would have violated the First Amendment had it properly prepared and issued a notice of proposed rulemaking on the subject:

> It may be, for example, that a record could be compiled that would demonstrate that particular types of programming are so demonstrably injurious to the public health that their entitlement to First Amendment protection in the broadcasting medium could properly be questioned. It may be that the rights of children to diversity of programming have been so severely ignored by broadcasters that affirmative requirements that broadcasters meet their needs in the times when children most frequently watch

[113] Ibid., pp. 43–47.
[114] Great Lakes Broadcasting Co., 3 F.R.C. Ann. Rep. 34 (1929), *rev'd on other grounds,* 37 F.2d 993, (930) *cert. dismissed* 281 U.S. 706 (1930). See also En Banc Programming Inquiry, 44 F.C.C. 2303, 2314 (1960) and Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees, 13 F.C.C. 1246, 1249 (1949)
[115] *Window Dressing,* p. 148.
[116] Wallace E. Johnson, Chief, Broadcast Bureau, letter to John A. Buggs, Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, May 16, 1977. This letter appears in *Window Dressing,* pp. 172–81.
[117] Ibid, p. 172.
[118] 52 F.C.C. 2d 273.
[119] *Id.* at 298.
[120] *Id.*
[121] National Organization for Women v. F.C.C., 555 F. 2d 1002, 1011 (1977), footnote omitted.
[122] *Id.* (footnote omitted).
[123] 423 F. Supp. 1094.

> television could be constitutionally supported in a properly prepared administrative record.[124]

Further, the court held that unless the FCC "*enacts valid regulations* giving fair notice to licensees of what is expected, the Commission has no authority to use the licensing process to control the depiction of violence or the presentation of adult material on television."[125]

If the FCC could properly issue a notice of proposed rulemaking on the issue of televised violence, as the court suggests in *Writers Guild,* or on the portrayal of women, as the court observed in *N.O.W.* v. *F.C.C.*, then it should be able to do so with respect to the portrayal of minorities and women, as recommended in *Window Dressing.*

The issue then becomes what rules the FCC might develop and what kind of leadership it might exercise that would be helpful insofar as the portrayal of minorities and women are concerned that would not violate the First Amendment. One of this Commission's concerns regarding the portrayal of women and minorities can best be expressed by the term "lack of diversity." For example, about half of all minority characters—primarily blacks—appearing in prime time television drama are seen in four or five programs. Television series come and go, but it can be safely predicted that about half of all minorities appearing on prime time television during a given week over the past 3 years will have been seen in such shows as *Good Times; Chico and the Man; What's Happening; Sanford and Son; That's My Mama; Baby, I'm Back;* and *The Jeffersons,* all situation comedies.[126] In general, minority characters are disproportionately portrayed in comic roles and as teenagers.[127]

Demonstrable lack of diversity such as this should not occur. Ways must be found to encourage greater diversity. Because it is one of the FCC's responsibilities to "generally encourage the larger and more effective use of radio [and television] in the public interest,"[128] it is incumbent on the FCC to find a way.

Before a method or methods may be found to encourage greater diversity, it is necessary to determine the cause or causes for *lack* of diversity. To what extent, for example, does lack of diversity result from the failure of the networks to employ significant numbers of minorities and women in policymaking positions? Data presented in the previous chapter show that very few minorities and women are employed as officials and managers at the headquarters of the network-owned stations.[129] Data are unavailable regarding the presence of minorities and women in specific network departments such as programming, broadcast standards and, with the exception of CBS, the news. It does not appear to be a violation of the First Amendment for the FCC to inquire about the employment status of minorities and women at the networks.

In comments prepared in response to an earlier draft of this report, the FCC reiterated its position that it could play no constitutionally acceptable role in developing rules in this area:

> [W]e continue to believe, as earlier stated in our response to the first CCR report, that the Commission, for constitutional as well as practical reasons, cannot allow itself to be drawn into the role of overseeing the content of entertainment programs, judging role models, or otherwise improperly intruding into the programming judgments of its television licensees.[130]

It is an unwarranted conclusion that this Commission urges the FCC to involve itself directly in programming decisions. It seems entirely appropriate, however, for the FCC to investigate such factors as the number of minorities and women who are employed in program decisionmaking positions at the networks and whether they play a role in program purchases and in deciding how minorities and women will be portrayed on those programs. In making such an inquiry, the FCC would *not* be overseeing the content of network entertainment programs. It would learn, however, the degree to which minorities and women play a role in determining the content of entertainment programs. Someone

---

[124] *Id.* at 1149. In a footnote to this statement, the court cites the Children's Television Report and Policy Statement, 50 F.C.C. 2d 1, 8 (1974) and states,

> One indication of the fact that the family viewing policy is in large part a public relations gimmick is that its operation is confined to the early evening hours despite the fact that children "form a substantial segment of the audience on *weekly afternoons* and early evenings as *well as on weekends.*" [emphasis added by the court] *Id.*

[125] *Id.* [emphasis added].

[126] Katrina Wynkoop Simmons et al., "The Demography of Television," Castle Report No. 2 (Michigan State University, Department of Communications: 1977), p. 15.

[127] See chapters 1 and 2 for discussions of the portrayal of minorities in comic roles.

[128] 47 U.S.C. §303(g).

[129] Chap. 4 above.

[130] Wallace E. Johnson, Chief, Broadcast Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, letter to Louis Nunez, Acting Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, July 19, 1978 (hereafter cited as *FCC Comments)* . (The entire letter from the FCC appears in appendix D.)

is determining program content; the question is whether minorities and women have an equal opportunity to do so. This Commission joins the FCC in opposing intrusion into areas that would breach First Amendment rights. This Commission believes that the employment of minorities and women by broadcasters is one of the ways by which the FCC can safeguard the public interest without such intrusion.

Currently, the FCC is conducting an inquiry into the effect on the licensee's ability to broadcast programs in the public interest of a concentration of program decisionmaking power at the network level:

> While it is certainly not our intention to adopt any regulatory measures which would impair the ability of the networks to serve the public interest, we must assure ourselves that the networks are not engaging in practices which might unduly encroach on the discretion of our licensees, or unnecessarily restrict the development of new sources of television programming.[131]

Among the issues the FCC is investigating is the nature of network relations with program suppliers. For example, the FCC wishes to know what interests the networks have in syndicated programs produced by independent suppliers,[132] whether the networks have an anticompetitive edge over potential competitors when they produce the programs they supply to affiliates, and whether such an anticompetitive edge would limit the supply of independently produced programs.[133]

This Commission wonders to what extent the lack of competition in the supply of programs to the networks unfairly limits opportunities for production companies headed by or employing substantial numbers of minorities and women. Lack of competition could contribute to a lack of diversity in programming because the networks tend to purchase much of their programming from a relatively few production companies; for example, 6 companies produced 36 of 59 series sold to the networks for the fall 1978 season.[134]

As a result of its network inquiry, the FCC may determine that procedures should be adopted that will result in the acquisition of programs from a wider variety of sources. One provision that would help to increase program diversity would be a stipulation that production companies from which the networks acquire programs employ minorities and women in policymaking positions. Programs acquired from production companies owned by and/or employing minorities and women in decisionmaking positions would allow for a decidedly more diverse portrait of minorities and women in television drama.

An inquiry into both the employment policies and patterns of both the networks and the production companies, together with an inquiry into the role that minorities and women play in the various facets of program production and acquisition, would help the FCC to discover causes leading to lack of diversity and aid it in the formulation of possible rules to encourage greater diversity.

If, in the end, the FCC determines that it is not within its power to set specific rules in this area, the FCC may still act to provide leadership in encouraging greater diversity in the portrayal of women and minorities. As the court observed in *Writers Guild*, it is within the power of the FCC to "offer *suggestions* when it believes it has information or ideas which broadcasters may wish to consider in making their independent determinations as to what will and will not be in conformance with the public interest."[135] The plaintiffs in *Writers Guild* argued that "government suggestions" violate the First Amendment, but the court completely rejected this argument:

> If the plaintiffs' position were correct, a licensee which heard a good idea from a governmental source could not adopt it even if, in its independent judgment, the programming suggestion was worthwhile. In short, licensee discretion to develop its own programming would be narrowed if government sources endorsed it. The FCC in section 326 of the Communications Act is specifically prohibited from interfering with licensee discretion in programming. It certainly would be a novel development if the government could achieve

[131] U.S., Federal Communications Commission, Notice of Inquiry in the Matter of Commercial Television Network Practices and the Ability of Station Licensees to Serve the Public Interest, Docket No. 21049, Jan., 14, 1977, §7.
[132] Ibid., §22.
[133] Ibid., §23.
[134] "Costs are Climbing, Line-ups are Changing," *Broadcasting*, Sept. 4, 1978, p. 22. These companies are Universal, 9; Tandem/TAT, 6; Paramount, 6; Spelling-Goldberg/Spelling-Cramer, 6; Lorimar, 5; MTM, 4. Only dramatic and variety series are included in these figures; excluded are sports, news and public affairs, and movies.
[135] *Writers Guild*, at 1150.

the desired results by endorsing programming ideas rather than prohibiting them.[136]

It is within the FCC's authority, therefore, to conduct a thorough inquiry into the causes of lack of diversity in the portrayal of minorities and women and into the effect that lack of diversity may have on viewers, especially young viewers. The inquiry should be comparable in scope to the Children's Programming Inquiry and the Network Inquiry. It should include presentations by authorities on the effect of television on viewers; it should have the authority to collect data on the employment policies and practices of the networks and the production companies that supply programs to the networks; finally, it should have the authority to take testimony from various network and production company decision-makers regarding the roles they play in encouraging diversity in the portrayal of minorities and women. The inquiry should be designed to determine the apparent causes for lack of diversity in the portrayal of women and minorities. It might also result in the formulation of possible rules that would encourage greater diversity. If, after this inquiry, no rules can be devised, the FCC can nevertheless provide leadership by issuing a memorandum of opinion setting forth its recommendations[137] for actions that broadcasters might independently take to increase diversity in the portrayal of minorities and women. It is the considered judgment of this Commission that the FCC can find a way to encourage greater diversity in the portrayal of minorities and women on television.

[136] *Id.* at 1135.

[137] *Writers Guild* at 1135 and 1150.

Findings and Recommendations

The Commission's first report on minorities and women in television, *Window Dressing on the Set,* documented the stereotyping of minority males and the serious underrepresentation and stereotyping of women (both majority and minority) in prime time television drama for the years 1969 through 1974. This Commission also analyzed network news broadcast in 1975 and concluded that women and minorities neither make nor report the news with frequency. Finally, it reported that the decisionmaking positions at 40 local television stations, including all those owned by the three networks, were overwhelmingly filled by white males in 1975.

Because of television's profound influence and the need for immediate remedial action, the Commission placed high priority on initiating a comprehensive reassessment of those issues discussed in *Window Dressing.* In so doing, the Commission has used the most recently available data to determine the frequency and character of the portrayal of women and minorities in prime time television drama in 1975 through 1977. Concomitantly, network news was analyzed to learn whether there had been greater inclusion of minorities and women as newsmakers and correspondents in 1977. The number and proportion of minorities and women employed as officials and managers at the major television stations (including all of those owned by the networks) for 1977 were analyzed to learn whether they had significantly increased over previous years. Finally, the proportions of women and minorities employed at network headquarters were compared with those employed at the stations owned by each of the networks.

In general, the findings indicate, first, that the portrayal of women and minorities in prime time television drama did not improve in the years 1975 through 1977, and in some ways their portrayal suffered. For example, minorities are disproportionately seen as teenagers and in comic roles despite decreases in these kinds of portrayals for other characters. Although the number of minority male correspondent appearances in the 1977 sample of 15 network news broadcasts has significantly increased since 1975, the number of minority female correspondent appearances has decreased significantly from very few to none. Further, news about minorities and women has decreased since 1975. Finally, the employment status of minorities and women at local television stations did not improve in 1977. Although the percentages of women and minorities who are officials and managers at local stations are very low when compared to the percentage of white males who are officials and managers, there are significantly more minorities and women in official and manager positions at the stations owned by the networks than at their headquarters.

In light of the persistent shortcomings highlighted earlier and reconfirmed in this update, the Commission presents its findings and reasserts and seeks implementation of recommendations originally presented in this report's predecessor, *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television.*

Findings

Stereotyped Portrayals in Television Drama[1]

1. Television drama continues in its failure to reflect the gender and racial/ethnic composition of the American population.

- White males continue to be overrepresented, constituting 62.7 percent of all characters in the 3-year period 1975–77 compared to 39.9 percent of the U.S. population.
- White female characters continue to be underrepresented, constituting 24.1 percent of all characters

[1] A one-week sample of television drama broadcast during prime time (8 to 11 p.m., eastern standard time) during the years 1975 through 1977 forms the basis for these findings. The data were prepared under contract by the Cultural Indicators Research Project of the Annenberg School of Communications of the University of Pennsylvania. Detailed discussions of the methodology used to collect the data and their reliability appear in chapter 2 and appendix A–7.

in the same period compared to 41.6 percent of the U.S. population.

- Minority females, constituting 3.6 percent of all characters, are also underrepresented when compared to the U.S. population of which they make up 9.6 percent.
- Although minority males constitute 9.6 percent of all characters (compared to 8.9 percent of the U.S. population), the stereotyped quality of their portrayals seriously detracts from the quantity of minority male characters who appear in television drama.

2. Stereotyping of minorities in television drama continues.

- Minority males are disproportionately seen in comic roles. Moreover, the percentage of minority male characters in comic roles has increased during the past 3 years, despite the fact that the proportion of all characters playing comic roles has decreased significantly.
- Minorities, regardless of sex, are disproportionately cast in teenage roles; in contrast, white male characters are disproportionately cast in adult roles.
- Minorities, regardless of sex, are less frequently portrayed in an identifiable occupation than majority characters. White male characters were seen in every occupation that occurred in the sample. White female characters appeared in 81.4 percent of them, and minority male characters appeared in 74.1 percent, but minority female characters were seen in only 38.9 percent of the occupations portrayed in the sample.
- The proportion of minority characters of both sexes who are not in identifiable occupations increased significantly during the 3-year period, 1975 through 1977, over the previous 6 years.
- When minority characters are seen in occupations, they are typically in jobs with lower status than those of majority characters. Minorities are more likely than whites to be service workers and students. Majority males are more likely than minority males to be doctors, managers, and journalists; majority females are more frequently seen as secretaries than are minority females.
- Although violence in the form of killing has decreased, significantly more characters are now seen hurting others. This is particularly true among minority characters. Regardless of sex, significantly more minority characters were portrayed as hurting others during the 1975–77 period than during the 1969–74 period.

3. Stereotyping of women continues.

- Female characters, both majority and minority, are still portrayed typically as in their twenties. In contrast, male characters are typically in their thirties and forties.
- Female characters are far more likely than male characters to be portrayed as having no identifiable occupation. When they are shown in an occupation, it is most frequently as a secretary, nurse, homemaker, household worker, or student. In contrast, male characters are most frequently seen as law enforcement officers, criminals, and doctors.

4. The family hour portrays women and minorities more stereotypically than is true later in the evening.

- Women, both majority and minority, are less frequently shown in identifiable occupations during the family hour. They are infrequently seen in professional or business positions; instead, they are typically seen as students and homemakers.
- Although minority male characters are disproportionately seen in comic roles throughout the evening, the tendency is greatly pronounced during the family hour when 27 percent of all comic roles are played by minority males, although they constitute only 12 percent of the characters who appear in family hour programs.
- Similarly, minority characters are disproportionately shown as teenagers during the family hour.
- Minority characters are less likely to be seen in an identifiable occupation during the family hour than later in the evening. They are seen as service workers and students more frequently during the family hour than later in the evening.

Women and Minorities in Network News[2]

5. White males continue to constitute the great majority of all correspondents, 82.2 percent.

- The proportion of minority female correspondents in the sample declined significantly, from 3.5 percent to 0.0 percent.
- Although the proportion of minority male correspondents in the sample increased significantly, from 2.4 percent to 7.8 percent, minority males continue to be underrepresented as correspondents.
- Similarly, the proportion of white female correspondents in the sample increased from 8.2

[2] A random sample of 15 network news programs broadcast on five widely scattered dates during 1977 forms the basis for these findings. A discussion of methodology and reliability appears in chapter 3.

percent to 10.0 percent; however, white females also continue to be underrepresented as correspondents.

6. The proportion of minority and female newsmakers declined in 1977, while the proportion of white male newsmakers increased significantly, from 78.7 percent to 88.4 percent.

7. Minorities and women more frequently make the news as private individuals than any other newsmaker category.

- Minority newsmakers appearing as private individuals were seen most frequently as people on the scene: a Hispanic family whose home was destroyed by fire, an Alaskan native in a story on land use, and a black juror. The exception was Clifford Alexander, mentioned as a possible subcabinet appointee.
- White female newsmakers often make the news as wives of someone famous or as victims of circumstance.
- White males almost totally dominate the category of government officials (93.9 percent); minority males account for 3.8 percent, majority women for 1.5 percent, and minority women for 0.8 percent of government officials.

Women and Minorities as Officials and Managers[1]

8. No significant increase in the percentages of minorities and women employed as officials and managers in the 40 station sample occurred between 1975 and 1977.

9. White males continue to hold the vast majority of the official and manager positions.

- The percentage of white males who were officials and managers in 1977 (64.9 percent) is significantly higher than the overall percentage of white male employees at the 40 stations (57.2 percent).
- In contrast, the percentages of black male and black female officials and managers are significantly lower than the overall percentages of black employees at the 40 stations.
- The percentages of other minorities employed as officials and managers are so small that statistical tests fail to show significant differences.
- Although the percentage of white female officials and managers (21.3 percent) is almost identical with the percentage of white female employees (21.6 percent), white females hold markedly fewer officials and managers jobs than white males.

10. The employment status of minorities and women who work at the headquarters level of each of the networks is significantly lower than at the stations owned by ABC, CBS, and NBC.

- Significantly more official and manager positions are reported for each network headquarters than for their owned stations, and significantly more white males fill network headquarters official and manager positions than fill those positions at the network-owned stations.
- The percentages of women and minorities reported as officials and managers at network headquarters are, in many cases, significantly lower than at network-owned stations.
- Seventy percent of all the positions at each of the networks are at the headquarters level, but the percentages of minorities employed in all positions at network headquarters are in many cases significantly lower than at network-owned stations.
- Women, both white and minority, are more frequently employed at network headquarters as office and clerical workers than in any other job category.

11. The employment status of large numbers of broadcast employees, many of whom are in decisionmaking positions, is not evaluated by the FCC.

- Although headquarters employees constitute 70 percent of all the broadcasting employees of ABC, CBS, and NBC, the FCC does not evaluate their employment status.
- Fifty-nine percent of all commercial stations are owned by 143 companies holding more than one facility; the employment status of the employees at the headquarters of these companies is not evaluated by the FCC.

Recommendations

Portrayal of Women and Minorities in Television Programming

1. The Federal Communications Commission should conduct an inquiry and proposed rulemaking in which it would investigate the relationship between the network programming decisionmaking process, the resulting portrayal of minorities and women, and the impact of these portrayals on viewers.

[1] FCC Form 395 employment reports submitted in 1977 to the FCC by 40 television stations and by ABC, CBS and NBC headquarters constitute the data base for these findings. The makeup of the sample and the procedures used to analyze the data are discussed in chapter 4.

Attempts by the Federal Communications Commission to respond to concerns about the negative impact on young viewers of televised violence, advertising directed to children, and the portrayal of minorities and women have helped to focus attention on a basic dilemma confronting the FCC—how may it best serve the public interest while protecting the First Amendment rights of the television licensees it is authorized to regulate? Chapter 5 summarizes the FCC's efforts to protect children from the potentially harmful effects of television while also adhering to its interpretation of the First Amendment. Utilizing court cases such as *Writers Guild of America, West, Inc.* v. *F.C.C.* and *National Organization for Women* v. *F.C.C.*, the Commission on Civil Rights concludes that an FCC inquiry and proposed rulemaking regarding the portrayal of minorities and women would not violate the First Amendment. The courts in both cases discuss the possibility of a rulemaking—in *Writers Guild* the issue is televised violence and in *N.O.W.* the issue is the televised portrayal of women. The courts noted in each case that a rulemaking procedure would have been in order. Indeed, in *Writers Guild* the court found that the FCC, in its efforts to seek a solution to the problem of televised violence that did not infringe on the First Amendment, had violated the Administrative Procedures Act by not following a normal rulemaking procedure. Furthermore, the court found that the private meetings the FCC had held with broadcasters as well as other acts that resulted in the family viewing hour were, in themselves, violations of the First Amendment.

This Commission, in recommending an inquiry and rulemaking proceeding on the portrayal of minorities and women, advocates no infringement on the First Amendment rights of broadcasters. Rather, this Commission seeks an FCC inquiry into the causes of and possible remedies for the continued underrepresentation and stereotyping of minorities and women in television drama. It urges further exploration into the effects on both majority and minority viewers of underrepresentation and stereotyping. This Commission also urges the FCC to search for ways—either by making rules or by exercising leadership through the issuance of recommendations addressed to the industry—to increase the numbers of minorities and women who appear in television drama and to increase the diversity with which they are portrayed.

The remaining recommendations, which were first set forth in *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television*, August 1977, are this Commission's views on how the basic goals of fairness and diversity in broadcasting may be achieved.

2. Production companies and network programming executives should incorporate more minorities and women into television drama. Toward this end they should undertake the following measures:

- develop series that portray minorities and women playing a variety of roles comparable in diversity and prestige to those played by white males;
- actively solicit scripts from minority and female writers; and
- actively solicit advice from citizen groups regarding the ways in which minorities and women are portrayed.

As documented in *Window Dressing*, efforts by some production companies to improve the portrayal of minorities and women have already demonstrated the value of these recommendations. Quality programs and diversified portrayals of minorities and women are beginning to appear as a result of these efforts.

3. The networks should make training and placement opportunities in decisionmaking positions in their news departments available to minorities and women.

Representation of women and minorities in many editorial, reporting, and writing positions is critical to the development of a broader and more varied concept of what constitutes the news.

4. The FCC should seek authorization from Congress to regulate equal employment opportunity at the networks and among all owners of more than one broadcast facility.

Although the FCC regulates equal employment opportunity at broadcast stations, it is not empowered to do so at the headquarters level of broadcast owners. The employment of minorities and women at the headquarters level at ABC, CBS, and NBC is significantly lower than at the stations owned by the networks, where equal employment is regulated. While the FCC's equal employment enforcement efforts must be increased, that Commission's employment regulations have, nevertheless, provided some impetus for improved employment for minorities and women, particularly in nondecisionmaking positions at the station level. These regulations should be extended to the networks and to all broadcast group owners. Requiring them to prepare

employment reports and equal employment opportunity programs applicable to all their employees should encourage increased employment opportunities for minorities and women in program and news decisionmaking and thereby improve and diversify the portrayal of minorities and women.

FCC Enforcement of Equal Employment Opportunity in the Broadcasting Industry

5. The FCC should require each licensee to develop an effective affirmative action program designed to achieve equitable employment for minorities and women in the broadcasting industry.

Every broadcast licensee, in return for its use of the public airwaves, accepts an obligation to serve all segments of the community. Regardless of the size of its work force, every broadcaster is a public trustee and should be held accountable for employing minorities and women in an equitable manner.

An effective affirmative action program includes an analysis to determine whether minorities and women are being fully utilized, an analysis of the possible causes of underutilization, and a series of steps to be undertaken that will result at a given point in time in the full utilization of minorities and women. Each of the following recommendations adapts the elements of an effective affirmative action program to broadcasting.

6. The FCC should require all broadcast licensees to examine the composition of their work forces in order to ascertain the extent to which minorities and women are fully and equitably represented at the various levels of responsibility and in all areas of station employment.

Conducting such an examination would bring licensees into compliance with section (b)(5) of the FCC's Equal Employment Opportunity Rule, which requires licensees to:

> [c]onduct a continuing review of job structure and employment practices and adopt positive recruitment, training, job design, and other measures needed in order to insure genuine equality of opportunity to participate fully in all organizational units, occupations, and levels of responsibility in the station.

The first step in the development of an EEO program is ascertainment of underutilization. To the extent that underutilization exists, it is the licensee's responsibility to determine its causes and to eliminate them. The FCC's current procedure is inadequate because it does not require a utilization analysis as the fundamental, first step in the development of a licensee's affirmative action program. Furthermore, the rule only applies to licensees with 11 or more employees.

7. The FCC should require every licensee to submit as part of its license renewal application a list of its employees classified by job category and cross-classified by race/ethnicity and sex. Job titles within each category should be arranged by salary.

On October 31, 1978, the FCC adopted, in principle, a recommendation of its Broadcast Bureau to require licensees to place in their public files a list of all employees ranked by salary (without revealing specific salary) and further identified by job title, FCC Form 395 job category, race, ethnicity and sex. The annual lists would be submitted to the FCC at license renewal time. Although this proposal was approved in principle, the staff was instructed to explore possible alternatives to this requirement to be used at a broadcaster's option. This Commission strongly endorses the FCC preliminary action and urges its final adoption, believing that no alternatives are available that will accomplish the goal of revealing the actual status of minorities and women on a licensee's workforce.

8. The FCC should revise Form 395 to facilitate a thorough utilization analysis.

As this Commission stated in Comments In the Matter of Petitions for Rulemaking to Amend FCC Form 395 and Instructions in March 1978, Docket No. 21474, the nine job categories of the current Form 395 should be substantially revised to allow for greater specificity for decisionmaking and programming positions and for less specificity for the positions at the lower end of the current scale. The Commission also proposes that the employment form be revised in several other specific ways: (1) the percentage as well as the number of employees of each category should be enumerated, (2) the number and percentage of white male and female employees should be reported, and (3) the degree to which each group is utilized in comparison to availability in the work force should be reported. These proposed additions will provide information vital to the assessment of status of *all* employees.

9. The FCC should establish the following standards for the employment of minorities and women in the broadcasting industry:

- the overall utilization of men and women of each racial/ethnic group on a local station's work

force should be at least 80 percent of parity with their representation in the labor force of the station's service area; and

- the dispersion of minorities and women throughout a local station's work force should be comparable to that of white males.

It is the position of this Commission that minorities and women should be represented on every licensee's work force at a rate commensurate with their representation in the labor force. The Supreme Court noted in *International Brotherhood of Teamsters* v. *United States* that, absent discrimination, work forces would be "more or less representative of the racial and ethnic composition of the population in the community from which employees are hired." 431 U.S. 324, 339–340, n. 20 (1977) A goal of nothing less than full representation of women and minorities in the broadcasting industry is ideal, but a standard of 80 percent of parity will allow a degree of flexibility in achieving full representation.

As the Supreme Court noted in *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* v. *Federal Power Commission,* diversity and fairness in programming ultimately depend on diversity and fairness in employment (425 U.S. 662, 670 n. 7); it is crucial, therefore, that minority and female employees work at all levels of a licensee's work force, particularly in decisionmaking positions.

In 1977 the FCC announced that it would use as a processing standard for its "zone of reasonableness" an employment rate of 50 percent of parity for the overall employment of minorities and women and 25 percent of parity for the employment of both groups in the upper four categories. The EEO programs of licensees with employment levels of minorities and women at these rates or below are subject to special scrutiny. Although it is probable that licensees with employment rates as low as only 50 percent of the labor force and only 25 percent in the upper four categories have suspect employment records, this processing standard does nothing to improve the employment status of minorities and women in the industry. In the sample this Commission originally developed for *Window Dressing,* the 40 stations each report employment levels for minorities that are in many cases well above the FCC's minimum standards for the utilization of minorities and women. As noted in chapter 4 of this report, the standards set by the FCC are lower than those that some licensees have already attained.

10. The FCC should adopt the following procedures to enforce these standards:

- Require all licensees failing to achieve the twin goals of labor parity and the dispersion of minority and female employees throughout their annual work forces, as revealed by their utilization analyses, to file the following documents with their first application for license renewal following the adoption of this recommendation:

  (1) an analysis of the licensee's employment practices that outlines the causes of underutilization;

  (2) a list of specific recruitment, training, and other measures to achieve parity and equal representation of minorities and women:

  (3) a statistical report indicating the results of the licensee's efforts to hire and promote minorities and women. Statistical reports on applicant flow and terminations should also be submitted. These reports should be prepared for each year of the license period.

- Defer the licenses of licensees whose hiring, promotion, and termination records and recruitment and training practices suggest noncompliance, pending an onsite review of their employment practices and a determination that all reasonable means to achieve compliance have been exhausted. If the results of such a review and determination show continuing noncompliance, the FCC should hold a hearing regarding revocation of the license.

Currently, the FCC requires licensees to prepare a discussion of their recruitment and training efforts. These efforts are not necessarily related to the causes of underutilization. Furthermore, the documentation of the results of the licensee's efforts to improve the employment status of minorities and women is insufficiently detailed to determine the effectiveness of these efforts. The forms recommended in *Window Dressing* for reporting applicant flow, hires, training, promotion, and termination will aid the licensee in determining the effectiveness of its affirmative action program. Those licensees that have demonstrated tangible commitment to equal employment opportunity would not be required to prepare such materials. Moreover, the FCC would be relieved of reviewing the EEO programs of licensees who are already in compliance. Licensees who have not ensured equal employment opportunity would be held accountable to demonstrate that their failure to do so is not the result of discriminatory employment policies and practices.

Appendix A

Table A.1
Characters by Race, Sex and Year
1969–77

	1969		1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975		1976		1977		1969-77	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Majority																				
Male	624	68.2	584	67.6	665	65.1	595	62.4	576	64.1	628	64.6	651	62.2	630	64.2	643	58.2***	5597	63.9
Female	230	25.1	200	23.2	251	24.6	223	23.4	212	23.6	223	22.9	243	23.2	244	24.9	294	26.6	2120	24.2
Subtotal	854	93.3	784	90.8	916	89.7	818	85.8	788	87.7	851	87.5	894	85.4	874	89.1**	937	84.8**	7717	88.1
Minority																				
Male	48	5.2	60	6.9	84	8.2	107	11.2*	90	10.0	93	9.6	105	10.0	81	8.3	126	11.4*	794	9.1
Female	13	1.4	20	2.3	22	2.2	28	2.9	20	2.2	28	2.9	48	4.6*	26	2.7*	41	3.7	246	2.8
Subtotal	61	6.6	80	9.2*	106	10.4	135	14.1*	110	12.2	121	12.5	153	14.6	107	10.9*	167	15.1**	1040	11.9
TOTAL	915	99.9	864	100.0	1022	100.1	953	99.9	898	99.9	972	100.0	1047	100.0	981	100.1	1104	99.9	8757	100.0

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.
**Difference is significant at the .01 level.
***Difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table A.2
Age of Characters by Race and Sex
1969–74 and 1975–77

Age	Year	Majority				Minority				Percentage of all Characters	
		Male		Female		Male		Female			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1–10	1969–74	82	2.2	51	3.8	21	4.4	7	5.3	161	2.9
	1975–77	49	1.5	31	2.6	18	3.7	9	4.9	107	2.1
	Percent Change		−31.8*		−31.6		−15.9		−7.5		−27.6**
11–20	1969–74	239	6.5	181	13.5	56	11.6	13	9.9	489	8.7
	1975–77	173	5.5	126	10.4	59	12.2	24	13.2	382	7.6
	Percent Change		−15.4		−23.0		+5.2		+33.3		−12.6*
21–30	1969–74	755	20.6	476	35.5	158	32.8	62	47.3	1451	25.8
	1975–77	651	20.6	478	39.4	143	29.5	65	35.7	1337	26.5
	Percent Change		—		+11.0*		−10.1		−24.5*		+2.7
31–40	1969–74	1197	32.6	311	23.2	151	31.3	20	15.3	1679	29.9
	1975–77	1087	34.4	305	25.1	151	31.1	39	21.4	1582	31.4
	Percent Change		+5.5		+8.2		−0.6		+39.9		+5.0
41–50	1969–74	935	25.5	188	14.0	58	12.0	13	9.9	1194	21.2
	1975–77	798	25.2	157	12.9	54	11.1	25	13.7	1034	20.5
	Percent Change		−1.2		−7.8		−7.5		+38.4		+3.3
51–60	1969–74	322	8.8	77	5.8	8	1.7	5	3.8	412	7.3
	1975–77	304	9.6	66	5.4	23	4.7	10	5.5	403	8.0
	Percent Change		+9.1		−6.9		+176.5**		+44.7		+9.6
61–99	1969–74	91	2.5	44	3.3	14	2.9	3	2.3	152	2.7
	1975–77	86	2.7	39	3.2	14	2.9	6	3.3	145	2.9
	Percent Change		+8.0		−3.0		—		+43.5		+7.4
Cannot Code	1969–74	51	1.4	11	0.8	16	3.3	8	6.1	86	1.5
	1975–77	14	0.4	11	0.9	23	4.7	4	2.2	52	1.0
	Percent Change		−71.4		+12.5		+42.4		−63.9		−33.3*
TOTAL	1969–74	3672	100.1	1339	99.9	482	100.0	131	99.9	5624	100.0
	1975–77	3182	100.0	1213	100.1	485	100.0	182	100.0	5042	100.0

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.
**Difference is significant at the .01 level.

Table A.3
Characters Who Commit Violence by Race and Sex
1969–74 and 1975–77

		Majority				Minority				Percentage of all Characters	
		Male		Female		Male		Female			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hurt	1969–74	657	17.9	94	7.0	74	15.4	4	3.1	829	14.7
	1975–77	616	19.5	109	9.0	119	24.5	16	8.8	860	17.1
	Percent Change		+8.9		+28.6		+59.1***		+183.9*		+20.4***
Kill	1969–74	167	4.5	14	1.0	32	6.6	0	0.0	213	3.8
	1975–77	144	4.6	12	1.0	20	4.1	1	0.5	177	3.5
	Percent Change		+2.2		—		−37.9		—		−7.9
Do Not Commit Violence	1969–74	2848	77.6	1231	91.9	376	78.0	127	96.9	4582	81.5
	1975–77	2402	76.0	1092	90.0	346	71.3	165	90.7	4005	79.4
	Percent Change		−2.1		−2.1		−8.6*		−6.4*		−2.6**
TOTAL	1969–74	3672	100.0	1339	99.9	482	100.0	131	100.0	5624	100.0
	1975–77	3162	100.0	1213	100.0	485	100.0	182	100.0	5042	100.1

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.
**Difference is significant at the .01 level.
***Difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table A.4
Characters Who Suffer Violence by Race and Sex
1969–74 and 1975–77

		Majority				Minority				Percentage of all Characters	
		Male		Female		Male		Female			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Suffer Pain	1969–74	749	20.4	166	12.4	97	20.1	12	9.2	1024	18.2
	1975–77	703	22.2	174	14.3	110	22.7	23	12.6	1010	20.0
	Percent Change		+8.8		+15.3		+12.9		+37.0		+9.9*
Are Killed	1969–74	228	6.2	36	2.7	33	6.8	6	4.6	303	5.4
	1975–77	169	5.3	28	2.3	29	6.0	3	1.6	229	4.5
	Percent Change		−14.5		−14.8		−11.8		−65.2		−16.7*
Are Not Victims of Violence	1969–74	2695	73.4	1137	84.9	352	73.0	113	86.3	4297	76.4
	1975–77	2290	72.4	1011	83.3	346	71.3	156	85.7	3803	75.4
	Percent Change		−1.4		−1.9		−2.3		−.7		−1.3
TOTAL	1969–74	3672	100.0	1339	100.0	482	99.9	131	100.1	5624	100.0
	1975–77	3162	100.0	1213	99.9	485	100.0	182	99.9	5042	100.0

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table A.5
Characters in Selected Occupational Roles by Race and Sex
1969–74 and 1975–77

Occupation		Majority				Minority				Percentage of all Characters	
		Male		Female		Male		Female			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law Enforcement Officers	1969–74	617	16.8	28	2.1	81	16.8	1	0.8	727	12.9
	1975–77	666	21.1	32	2.6	78	16.1	5	2.7	781	15.5
	Percent Change		+25.6***		+23.8		−4.2		+237.5		+20.2***
Managers	1969–74	378	10.3	56	4.2	37	7.7	6	4.6	477	8.5
	1975–77	320	10.1	47	3.9	44	9.1	6	3.3	417	8.3
	Percent Change		−1.9		−7.1		+18.1		−28.2		−2.4
Professionals	1969–74	807	22.0	201	15.0	72	14.9	19	14.5	1099	19.5
	1975–77	595	18.8	214	17.6	56	11.5	19	10.4	884	17.5
	Percent Change		−14.5**		+17.3		−22.8		−28.3		−10.2*
None/ Mixed	1969–74	1140	31.0	763	57.0	190	39.4	70	53.4	2163	38.5
	1975–77	988	31.2	683	56.3	225	46.4	116	63.7	2012	39.9
	Percent Change		+0.6		−1.2		+17.0*		+19.3***		+3.6
All Others[1]	1969–74	730	19.8	291	21.6	102	21.1	35	26.9	1158	20.7
	1975–77	593	18.8	237	19.5	82	16.9	36	19.8	948	18.8
	Percent Change		−5.0		−9.7		−19.9		−26.4		−9.2*
TOTAL	1969–74	3672	99.9	1339	99.9	482	99.9	131	100.2	5624	100.1
	1975–77	3162	100.0	1213	100.0	485	100.0	182	99.8	5042	100.0

[1] The proportion of all characters in other occupational categories in 1975-76 is as follows: military personnel, 5.7 percent; service workers, 5.3 percent; clerical workers, 3.8 percent; craftsmen, 2.7 percent; sales workers, 0.8 percent; laborers, 0.6 percent.

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.
**Difference is significant at the .01 level.
***Difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table A.6

Characters Portrayed in Specific Occupations by Race, Sex and Time of Broadcast Listed in Order of Frequency of Portrayal of All Characters 1975–77

	All Characters				Characters in Family Hour				Characters in Late Evening			
Majority Male	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unidentifiable												
Unknown	422	13.3			199	18.0			223	10.8		
Self Employed	151	4.8			68	6.2			83	4.0		
Unemployed	46	1.5			25	2.3			21	1.0		
Mixed	43	1.4			22	2.0			21	1.0		
Other	49	1.5			26	2.4			23	1.1		
Retired	10	0.3			1	0.1			9	0.4		
Subtotal			721	22.8[1]			341	30.9			380	18.4
Law Enforcement												
Police	507	16.0			77	7.0			430	20.9		
Private Detective	58	1.8			5	0.5			53	2.6		
Government Agent	52	1.6			30	2.7			22	1.1		
Foreign Agent	8	0.3			8	0.7			0	0.0		
Subtotal			625	19.8			120	10.9			505	24.5
Crime												
Criminal	252	8.0			42	3.8			210	10.2		
Criminal (legitimate front)	38	1.2			10	0.9			28	1.4		
Subtotal			290	9.2			52	4.7			238	11.6
Miscellaneous Professionals												
Journalist	80	2.5			21	1.9			59	2.9		
Professional	57	1.8			20	1.8			37	1.8		
Public Official	43	1.4			12	1.1			31	1.5		
Scientist	20	0.6			12	1.1			8	0.4		
Social Worker	9	0.3			4	0.4			5	0.2		
Subtotal			209	6.6			69	6.2			140	6.7
Military												
Enlisted/Noncom	119	3.8			55	5.0			64	3.1		
Military Officer	57	1.8			35	3.2			22	1.1		
Foreign Military	22	0.7			20	1.8			2	0.1		
Subtotal			198	6.3			110	10.0			88	4.3
Medicine												
Doctor	119	3.8			28	2.5			91	4.4		
Military Doctor	35	1.1			8	0.7			27	1.3		
Psychiatrist	12	0.4			3	0.3			9	0.4		
Paramedic	6	0.2			4	0.4			2	0.1		
Dentist	6	0.2			3	0.3			3	0.1		
Nurse	1	0.0			1	0.1			0	0.0		
Military Nurse	1	0.0			0	0.0			1	0.0		
Veterinarian	1	0.0			1	0.1			0	0.0		
Subtotal			181	5.7			48	4.4			133	6.4
Service Work												
Hotel/Restaurant	69	2.2			21	1.9			48	2.3		
Miscellaneous Service	42	1.3			17	1.5			25	1.2		
Guard/Watchperson	39	1.2			15	1.4			24	1.2		
Subtotal			150	4.7			53	4.8			97	4.7

Table A.6 (Continued)

Majority Male (Continued)	All Characters				Characters in Family Hour				Characters in Late Evening			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Education												
Student	107	3.4			70	6.3			37	1.8		
Teacher	23	0.7			15	1.4			8	0.4		
College Student	16	0.5			8	0.7			8	0.4		
Subtotal			146	4.6			93	8.4			53	2.6
Management												
Miscellaneous Managers	101	3.2			29	2.6			72	3.5		
Restaurant Managers	27	0.9			10	0.9			17	0.8		
Subtotal			128	4.0			39	3.5			89	4.3
Transportation												
Cab/Truck Driver	45	1.4			16	1.5			29	1.4		
Airline Personnel	29	0.9			12	1.1			17	0.8		
Transportation	16	0.5			3	0.3			13	0.6		
Subtotal			90	2.8			31	2.8			59	2.9
Law												
Lawyer	55	1.7			14	1.3			41	2.0		
Judge	24	0.8			7	0.6			17	0.8		
Subtotal			79	2.5			21	1.9			58	2.8
Entertainer Subtotal			66	2.1			17	1.5			49	2.4
Technical												
Technician	24	0.8			5	0.5			19	0.9		
Factory Worker	20	0.6			7	0.6			13	0.6		
Repairperson	18	0.4			10	0.9			8	0.4		
Subtotal			62	2.0			22	2.0			40	1.9
Clerical												
Clerical	33	1.0			9	0.8			24	1.2		
Clerical (money)	8	0.3			2	0.2			6	0.3		
Secretary	5	0.2			2	0.2			3	0.1		
Subtotal			46	1.4			13	1.2			33	1.6
Clergy												
Clergy	36	1.1			15	1.4			21	1.0		
Military Clergy	5	0.2			2	0.2			3	0.1		
Subtotal			41	1.3			17	1.5			24	1.2
Salesperson												
Subtotal			28	0.9			12	1.1			16	0.8
Arts and Crafts												
Craftsperson	20	0.6			4	0.4			16	0.8		
Artist	5	0.2			4	0.4			1	0.0		
Subtotal			25	0.8			8	0.7			17	0.8
Sports												
Athlete	19	0.6			12	1.1			7	0.3		
Recreation	4	0.1			1	0.1			3	0.1		
Subtotal			24	0.8			13	1.2			10	0.5

Table A.6 (Continued)

Majority Male (Continued)		All Characters				Characters in Family Hour				Characters in Late Evening			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Firefighter	Subtotal			18	0.6			14	1.3			4	0.2
Laborer	Subtotal			17	0.5			3	0.3			14	0.7
Housework													
Household Worker		11	0.3			5	0.5			6	0.3		
Homemaker		4	0.1			2	0.2			2	0.1		
	Subtotal			14	0.4			7	0.6			8	0.4
Revolutionary	Subtotal			4	0.1			0	0.0			4	0.2
TOTAL MAJORITY MALE CHARACTERS				3162	99.9			1103	99.9			2059	99.9
Total number of categories in which majority male characters appeared (60)													
Majority Female													
Unidentifiable													
Unknown		392	32.3			152	34.2			240	31.2		
Unemployed		33	2.7			11	2.5			22	2.9		
Self Employed		21	1.7			1	1.8			13	1.7		
Other		19	1.6			7	1.6			12	1.6		
Mixed		13	1.1			7	1.6			6	0.8		
Retired		8	0.7			1	0.2			7	0.9		
	Subtotal			486	40.1			186	41.9			300	39.0
Clerical													
Secretary		88	7.3			20	4.5			68	8.8		
Clerical		20	1.6			4	0.9			16	2.1		
Clerical (money)		17	1.4			3	0.7			14	1.8		
	Subtotal			125	10.3			27	6.1			98	12.7
Education													
Student		78	6.4			58	13.1			20	2.6		
Teacher		19	1.6			10	2.3			9	1.2		
College Student		16	1.3			4	0.9			12	1.6		
	Subtotal			113	9.3			72	16.2			41	5.3
Medicine													
Nurse		58	4.8			16	3.6			42	5.5		
Military Nurse		29	2.4			10	2.3			19	2.5		
Doctor		6	0.5			2	0.5			4	0.5		
Psychiatrist		1	0.1			0	0.0			1	0.1		
	Subtotal			94	7.7			28	6.3			66	8.5
Housework													
Homemaker		67	5.5			38	8.6			29	3.8		
Household Worker		21	1.7			6	1.4			15	2.0		
	Subtotal			88	7.2			44	9.9			44	5.7

Table A.6 (Continued)

Majority Female (Continued)	All Characters				Characters in Family Hour				Characters in Late Evening			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Miscellaneous Professionals												
Journalist	26	2.1			6	1.4			20	2.6		
Professional	15	1.2			3	0.7			12	1.6		
Social Worker	6	0.5			3	0.7			3	0.4		
Scientist	6	0.5			5	1.1			1	0.1		
Public Official	4	0.3			3	0.7			1	0.1		
Subtotal			57	4.7			20	4.5			37	4.8
Crime												
Criminal	41	3.4			4	0.9			37	4.8		
Criminal (legitimate front)	10	0.8			2	0.5			8	1.0		
Subtotal			51	4.2			6	1.4			45	5.8
Service Work												
Hotel/Restaurant	30	2.5			8	1.8			22	2.9		
Miscellaneous Service	12	1.0			4	0.9			8	1.0		
Guard/Watchperson	2	0.2			1	0.2			1	0.1		
Subtotal			44	3.6			13	2.9			31	4.0
Entertainer Subtotal			37	3.1			7	1.6			30	3.9
Law Enforcement												
Police	21	1.7			4	0.9			17	2.2		
Private Detective	6	0.5			0	0.0			6	0.8		
Government Agent	4	0.3			3	0.7			1	0.1		
Subtotal			31	2.6			7	1.6			24	3.1
Management												
Miscellaneous Managers	18	1.5			6	1.4			12	1.6		
Restaurant Manager	5	0.4			0	0.0			5	0.7		
Subtotal			23	1.9			6	1.4			17	2.2
Transportation												
Airline Personnel	15	1.2			10	2.3			5	0.7		
Cab/Truck Driver	2	0.2			0	0.0			2	0.3		
Transportation	1	0.1			0	0.0			1	0.1		
Subtotal			18	1.5			10	2.2			8	1.0
Law												
Lawyer	8	0.7			0	0.0			8	1.0		
Judge	4	0.3			2	0.5			2	0.3		
Subtotal			12	1.0			2	0.5			10	1.3
Arts and Crafts												
Artist	7	0.6			2	0.5			5	0.7		
Craftsperson	1	0.1			0	0.0			1	0.1		
Subtotal			8	0.7			2	0.5			6	0.8
Technical												
Factory Worker	7	0.6			6	1.4			1	0.1		
Technician	2	0.2			2	0.5			0	0.0		
Subtotal			9	0.7			8	1.8			1	0.1
Salesperson Subtotal			4	0.3			1	0.2			3	0.4

Table A.6 (Continued)

Majority Female (Continued)	All Characters No.	All Characters %	All Characters No.	All Characters %	Characters in Family Hour No.	Characters in Family Hour %	Characters in Family Hour No.	Characters in Family Hour %	Characters in Late Evening No.	Characters in Late Evening %	Characters in Late Evening No.	Characters in Late Evening %
Laborer Subtotal			4	0.3			2	0.5			2	0.3
Revolutionary Subtotal			3	0.2			0	0.0			3	0.4
Athlete Subtotal			2	0.2			1	0.2			1	0.1
Clergy Subtotal			2	0.2			1	0.2			1	0.1
Military												
Military Officer	1	0.1			0	0.0			1	0.1		
Enlisted/Noncom	1	0.1			1	0.2			0	0.0		
Subtotal			2	0.2			1	0.2			1	0.1
TOTAL MAJORITY FEMALE CHARACTERS			1213	100.0			444	100.1			769	99.6
Total number of categories in which majority female characters appeared (50)												
Minority Male												
Unidentifiable												
Unknown	96	19.8			50	24.3			46	16.5		
Other	34	7.0			12	5.8			22	7.9		
Self Employed	27	5.6			18	8.7			9	3.2		
Unemployed	8	1.6			6	2.9			2	0.7		
Mixed	6	1.2			4	1.9			2	0.7		
Retired	1	0.2			1	0.5			0	0.0		
Subtotal			172	35.4			91	44.2			81	29.0
Law Enforcement												
Police	73	15.1			13	6.3			60	21.5		
Private Detective	2	0.4			1	0.5			1	0.4		
Subtotal			75	15.5			14	6.8			61	21.9
Crime												
Criminal	40	8.2			10	4.9			30	10.8		
Criminal (legitimate front)	5	1.0			2	1.0			3	1.1		
Subtotal			45	9.3			12	5.8			33	11.8
Service Work												
Miscellaneous Service	18	3.7			11	5.3			7	2.5		
Hotel/Restaurant	13	2.7			5	2.4			8	2.9		
Guard/Watchperson	3	0.6			2	1.0			1	0.4		
Subtotal			34	7.0			18	8.7			16	5.7
Education												
Student	28	5.8			23	11.2			5	1.8		
College Student	4	0.8			4	1.9			0	0.0		
Teacher	1	0.2			0	0.0			1	0.4		
Subtotal			33	6.8			27	13.1			6	2.2

Table A.6 (Continued)

Minority Male (Continued)	All Characters				Characters in Family Hour				Characters in Late Evening			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Medicine												
Doctor	13	2.7			4	1.9			9	3.2		
Military Doctor	2	0.4			0	0.0			2	0.7		
Psychiatrist	1	0.2			0	0.0			1	0.4		
Subtotal			16	3.3			4	1.9			12	4.3
Miscellaneous Professionals												
Journalist	5	1.0			2	1.0			3	1.1		
Professional	4	0.8			0	0.0			4	1.4		
Public Official	3	0.6			0	0.0			3	1.1		
Scientist	3	0.6			2	1.0			1	0.4		
Social Worker	1	0.2			0	0.0			1	0.4		
Subtotal			16	3.3			4	1.9			12	4.3
Management												
Restaurant Manager	7	1.4			3	1.5			4	1.4		
Miscellaneous Managers	6	1.2			2	1.0			4	1.4		
Subtotal			13	2.7			5	2.4			8	2.9
Military												
Enlisted/Noncom	9	1.9			4	1.9			5	1.8		
Foreign Military	2	0.4			2	1.0			0	0.0		
Military Officer	1	0.2			0	0.0			1	0.4		
Subtotal			12	2.5			6	2.9			6	2.2
Entertainer Subtotal			9	1.9			3	1.5			6	2.2
Transportation												
Cab/Truck Driver	4	0.8			1	0.5			3	1.1		
Transportation	2	0.4			2	1.0			0	0.0		
Airline Personnel	3	0.6			1	0.5			2	0.7		
Subtotal			9	1.9			4	1.9			5	1.8
Laborer Subtotal			9	1.9			2	1.0			7	2.5
Technical												
Technician	6	1.2			2	1.0			4	1.4		
Repairperson	2	0.4			0	0.0			2	0.7		
Subtotal			8	1.6			2	1.0			6	2.2
Household Worker Subtotal			7	1.4			3	1.4			4	1.4
Clerical												
Clerical	5	1.0			3	1.5			2	0.7		
Clerical (money)	2	0.4			0	0.0			2	0.7		
Subtotal			7	1.4			3	1.3			4	1.0
Salesperson Subtotal			5	1.0			3	1.5			2	0.7
Revolutionary Subtotal			4	0.8			1	0.5			3	1.1
Clergy Subtotal			4	0.8			1	0.5			3	1.1
Athlete Subtotal			3	0.6			1	0.5			2	0.7

Table A.6 (Continued)

Minority Male (Continued)	All Characters				Characters in Family Hour				Characters in Late Evening			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law												
Lawyer	2	0.4			1	0.5			1	0.4		
Judge	1	0.2			0	0.0			1	0.4		
Subtotal			3	0.6			1	0.5			2	0.7
Firefighter			1	0.2			1	0.5			0	0.0
TOTAL MINORITY MALE CHARACTERS			485	99.9			206	99.8			279	99.7
Total number of categories in which minority male characters appeared (46)												
Minority Female												
Unidentifiable												
Unknown	68	37.4			45	50.0			23	25.0		
Self Employed	5	2.7			2	2.2			3	3.3		
Other	5	2.7			0	0.0			5	5.4		
Unemployed	3	1.6			1	1.1			2	2.2		
Mixed	2	1.1			2	2.2			0	0.0		
Subtotal			83	45.6			50	55.6			33	35.9
Housework												
Homemaker	11	6.0			7	7.8			4	4.3		
Household Worker	11	6.0			3	3.3			8	8.7		
Subtotal			22	12.1			10	11.1			12	13.0
Education												
Student	19	10.4			15	16.7			4	4.3		
College Student	1	0.5			1	1.1			0	0.0		
Subtotal			20	11.0			16	17.8			4	4.3
Clerical												
Secretary	6	3.3			1	1.1			5	5.4		
Clerical	4	2.2			2	2.2			2	2.2		
Clerical (money)	3	1.6			0	0.0			3	3.3		
Subtotal			13	7.1			3	3.3			10	10.9
Medicine												
Nurse	9	4.9			1	1.1			8	8.7		
Military Nurse	1	0.5			0	0.0			1	1.1		
Doctor	1	0.5			0	0.0			1	1.1		
Subtotal			11	6.0			1	1.1			10	10.9
Service Work												
Hotel/Restaurant	5	2.7			2	2.2			3	3.3		
Miscellaneous Service	3	1.6			0	0.0			3	3.3		
Guard/Watchperson	1	0.5			1	1.1			0	0.0		
Subtotal			9	4.9			3	3.3			6	6.5
Criminal Subtotal			7	3.8			0	0.0			7	7.6

Table A.6 (Continued)

Minority Female (Continued)	All Characters				Characters in Family Hour				Characters in Late Evening			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Miscellaneous Professionals												
Journalist	2	1.1			1	1.1			1	1.1		
Scientist	2	1.1			2	2.2			0	0.0		
Professional	1	0.5			0	0.0			1	1.1		
Public Official	1	0.5			0	0.0			1	1.1		
Subtotal			6	3.3			3	3.3			3	3.3
Entertainer Subtotal			4	2.2			2	2.2			2	2.2
Police Subtotal			4	2.2			1	1.1			3	3.3
Factory Worker Subtotal			2	1.1			0	0.0			2	2.2
Salesperson Subtotal			1	0.5			1	1.1			0	0.0
TOTAL MINORITY FEMALE CHARACTERS			182	99.8			90	99.9			92	100.1
Total number of categories in which minority female characters appeared (27)												

[1] Major occupational category percentages were calculated by dividing the number of characters in each category by the total number of characters; the sum of percentages for each job title within a major category may not equal the proportion in the category due to rounding errors. Subtotals for occupational categories may not equal 100 percent due to rounding errors.

Appendix A.7

Methodology and Reliability of Data

(Dr. Nancy Signorielli prepared the following description of the methodology used in the Cultural Indicators Research Project.)

Message System Analysis does not deal with single works, subjective perceptions, or dramatic subtleties. It focuses on the gross, unambiguous, and commonly understood facts of portrayal. These are the features that can be expected to provide bases for interaction and common assumptions and definitions, though not necessarily agreement, among large and heterogeneous mass publics.

In Message System Analysis, coders are trained in a specialized kind of observation. They must reliably make the discriminations required by the recording instrument and record them in a specified form. Coders focus on what is presented in the material and *not* how it might be judged by a critical viewer. Their task is to generate the data for the subsequent analysis that will permit interpretation of the common message elements and structures available to a public of diverse viewers.

Message data for each sample of programs collected as part of the Cultural Indicators Project have been generated by a staff of between 14 to 20 paid and trained coders. Coders are employed each year for a 12- to 16-week period and work for a minimum of 20 hours and a maximum of 25 hours per week.[1]

Coders are specifically trained to use the Cultural Indicators Message System Analysis Recording Instrument. The training period requires 4 to 6 weeks of intensive instruction and testing. Several introductory sessions are devoted to an item-by-item discussion of the recording instrument. Each definition and category scheme is fully explained and illustrated. Coders are explicitly instructed that they must be able to substantiate all coding decisions; that is, they must be able to point to specific actions or segments in the program to explain why an item was coded in a particular way. Coders cannot use information that is not supplied in the specific episode of the program being analyzed. For example, if a coder knows, from previous exposure to the program, that a character is employed as a teacher but no mention is made of the character's occupation in the particular episode being analyzed, the coder *cannot* code that character as a teacher. Rather, the coder must use the "cannot code" or "unknown" category. Coders thus rely only upon information supplied during the course of the particular episode they are assigned to code.

The training period also involves coding 10 preselected programs that have been subjected to intensive analysis by the entire Message System Analysis staff. These programs have been specially selected to illustrate specific definitions and especially difficult aspects of the recording instrument.

The trainee group is split into randomly[2] assigned coding teams of two people. All of these pairs then proceed to code the first three training programs. Each coder-pair works independently of all other pairs and returns one joint coding for each program. In the next general meeting, the entire staff—administrative and coding—discusses difficulties encountered in the three-program exercise. When these problems have been resolved, the coder-pairs code the remaining seven training programs. Coder-pairs meet at least two more times during this part of training to discuss and resolve coding problems. In addition, the performance of each coder-pair is closely monitored by the administrative staff. If the staff notes a specific problem, it is brought to the attention of the coder-pair.

[1] We have found that coding is extremely tedious work and that coders cannot work efficiently for more than 5 hours each day.

[2] We do not permit roommates, spouses, friends, or lovers to operate as coding pairs.

An important part of this process is the very extensive training program that each coder-pair must complete. Each item in the recording instrument is explained and described. Furthermore, all items, especially those that are most complicated and potentially confusing, are illustrated by their codings in the 10-program exercise. Each item has been coded by the staff and coder-pairs must compare their codings of each of these programs with those generated by the staff. Misunderstandings and confusions are fully discussed and clarified in all meetings.

The data generated by the coder-pairs for the 10 training programs are keypunched and subjected to computerized agreement analysis. On the basis of these results instructions, definitions, and classification schemes are further discussed and perhaps revised and idiosyncratic coder-pairs are dismissed. The coder-pairs who survive the training-testing process then proceed to analyze the season's videotaped program sample.

During both the training and data-collection phases, coder-pairs monitor their assigned videotaped programs as often as necessary, rescreening portions as needed. All programs in the sample are coded independently by two separate coder-pairs to provide double-coded reliability comparisons.

A final data set for subsequent analysis is compiled from the full data base by randomly selecting one of the two codings for each program. As a last check against deviant coding, reliability measures are computed for each pair before the final selection. This procedure identifies problem coders who may not have been screened out in the training and pretest phase. In such an instance, the data recorded by the questionable pair would be excluded from the selection and the alternative coding used. (Over the course of this study, only two cases have been encountered.)

Assessment of Reliability

The purpose of reliability measures in content analysis is to ascertain the degree to which the recorded data are consistently representative of the material being studied, rather than a reflection of observer bias or instrument ambiguity. Theoretically both types of contamination can be corrected by refining the instrument and/or by intensifying coder training, or, as a last resort, by eliminating the unsalvageable variable or dismissing the incorrigible coders. Thus, measures of reliability may serve two functions: (1) as diagnostic tools in the confirmation of the recording instrument, and (2) as arbiters of the replicability of the procedure, assuring confidence in the final data. In this project, they serve both—during the preliminary period of instrument revision and coder training, they identify problem areas in the recording process, and the final measures computed on the study's entire corpus of double-coded data determine the acceptability of information for analysis and provide guidelines for its interpretations.

Agreement due merely to chance gives no indication that the data truly reflect the phenomena under observation. Simple percent-agreement measures are, therefore, inadequate indicators of reliability, since they fail to account for the amount of agreement expected by chance. Reliability measures in the form of agreement coefficients, however, indicate the degree to which agreement among independent observers is above change. In general, then,

$$\text{Coefficient of Agreement} = 1 - \frac{\text{observed disagreement}}{\text{expected disagreement}}$$

Values for coefficients of this form will range from plus one when agreement is perfect, to zero when agreement is purely accidental (or perfectly random), to negative values when agreement is less than that expected due to chance. These coefficients will generally give more conservative estimates of reliability than will simple percent-agreement measures.

Five computational formulas are available for calculating the agreement coefficient.[3] T variations are distinguished by different formulations of the disagreement function—depending on whether the variable is considered a nominal, ordinal, interval,

[3] For a formal discussion of part of this family of coefficients, see Klaus Krippendorff, "Bivariate Agreement Coefficients for the Reliability of Data" in *Sociological Methodology*, ed. E.F. Borgatta and G.W. Bohrnstedt (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1970).

bipolar, or ratio scale. The project's double-coded sample of data is analyzed for agreement via these coefficients with the aid of a computer program.[4] The cumulative reliability results for both the items and the compound measures and indicators govern the reporting of the results.

[4] Klaus Krippendorff, "A Computer Program for Agreement Analysis of Reliability Data, Version 4," Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, July 1973 (mimeo).

Table A.7
Reliability of Variables for Prime Time Television Drama Characters

	1974–76	1977
Major and Minor Characters		
Sex	.962 N	.942 N
Race	.897 N	.921 N
Chronological Age	.864 I	.901 I
Occupation	.803 N	.844 N
Violence Committed	.732 N	.707 N
Victimization	.774 N	.702 N
Major Characters		
Comic Role	.658 O	.613 O

Appendix B

Table B.1
Newsmaker Roles by Race and Sex, 1974–75 and 1977

		Government Official		Public Figure		Criminal		Private Figure		Expert		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Majority													
Male	1974–75	62	93.9	18	69.2	11	73.3	20	58.8	—	—	111	78.7
	1977	124	93.9	26	76.5	41	100.0	19	61.3	10	90.9	220	88.4
Percent Change			—		+10.5		+36.4**		+4.2		—		+12.3*
Female	1974–75	1	1.5	5	19.2	0	0.0	8	23.5	—	—	14	9.9
	1977	2	1.5	7	20.6	0	0.0	7	22.6	1	9.1	17	6.8
Percent Change			—		+7.3		—		−3.8		—		−31.3
Minority													
Male	1974–75	2	3.0	3	11.5	4	26.7	2	5.9	—	—	11	7.8
	1977	5	3.8	1	2.9	0	0.0	5	16.1	0	0.0	11	4.4
Percent Change			+26.7		−74.8		−100.0*		+172.9**		—		−43.6
Female	1974–75	1	1.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	11.8	—	—	5	3.5
	1977	1	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4
Percent Change			−46.7		—		—		−100.0**		—		−88.6*
TOTAL	1974–75	66	46.8	26	18.4	15	10.6	34	24.1	—	—	141	100.0
	1977	132	53.0	34	13.6	41	16.4	31	12.4	11	4.4	249	100.0
Percent Change			+13.2		−26.1		+54.7		+48.5**		—		—

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.
**Difference is significant at the .01 level.

Table B.2
Gender Distributions of Correspondent Appearances, by Network and Month, 1977

		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
ABC														
Male	No.	131	138	159	147	143	157	184	189	177	171	177	162	1935
Appearances	%	87.9	90.8	94.1	93.6	89.4	93.4	92.0	87.9	88.5	90.5	90.3	84.8	90.2
Female	No.	18	14	10	10	17	11	16	26	23	18	19	29	211
Appearances	%	12.1	9.2	5.9	6.4	10.6	6.5	8.0	12.1	11.5	9.5	9.7	15.2	9.8
Subtotal	No.	149	152	169	157	160	168	200	215	200	189	196	191	2146
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
CBS														
Male	No.	189	174	199	182	200	176	194	209	191	172	170	185	2241
Appearances	%	90.9	90.6	89.6	90.5	90.1	88.0	85.1	90.9	94.1	96.6	90.4	93.9	90.8
Female	No.	19	18	23	19	22	24	34	21	12	6	18	12	228
Appearances	%	9.1	9.4	10.4	9.4	9.9	12.0	14.9	9.1	5.9	3.4	9.6	6.1	9.2
Subtotal	No.	208	192	222	201	222	200	228	230	203	178	188	197	2469
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NBC														
Male	No.	167	139	158	149	155	152	153	176	164	172	200	165	1950
Appearances	%	90.8	82.7	82.7	83.7	88.1	86.8	84.5	91.2	91.6	91.0	94.3	85.9	87.9
Female	No.	17	29	33	29	21	23	28	17	15	17	12	27	268
Appearances	%	9.2	17.3	17.3	16.3	11.9	13.2	15.5	8.8	8.4	9.0	5.7	14.1	12.1
Subtotal	No.	184	168	191	178	176	175	181	193	179	189	212	192	2218
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Male Appearances	No.	487	451	516	478	496	485	531	574	532	515	547	512	6124
	%	90.0	88.1	88.6	89.2	88.9	89.3	87.2	90.0	91.4	92.6	91.8	88.[illegible]	89.6
Total Female Appearances	No.	54	61	66	58	62	58	78	64	50	41	49	68	709
	%	10.0	11.9	11.3	10.8	11.1	10.7	12.8	10.0	8.6	7.4	8.2	11.7	10.4
Total Appearances	No.	541	512	582	536	558	543	609	638	582	556	596	580	6833
	%	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table B.3
Female Correspondents Appearing on Network Television News in 1977

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total	
ABC													No.	%
Bettina Gregory	6	4	2	2	4	4	9	2	6	6	4	7	56	25.0
Ann Compton	2	7	2	4	3	2	4	11	3	3	3	6	50	22.3
Julie Eckart	8	2	4	0	3	2	3	4	3	3	1	2	35	15.6
Hillary Brown	1	1	2	3	6	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	17	7.6
Margaret Osmer	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	11	4.9
Doreen Kays	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	8	3.6
Catherin Mackin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	3	7	3.1
Sylvia Chase	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	0	7	3.1
Lynn Sherr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	0	7	3.1
Barbara Walters	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	5	2.2
Sonya Friedman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3	1.3
Lynn Gansar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0.9
Miscellaneous[1]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	1.3
TOTAL	18	14	10	10	17	11	16	26	23	18	19	29	211	99.8
Mean No. of Appearances[2]	3.6	3.5	2.5	2.5	3.4	2.2	4.0	2.6	2.3	1.6	1.9	2.9	2.5	

[1] Includes the following correspondents who appeared once: Karen Kelley, August; Judi Bloom, August; Adrienne Alpert, October.

[2] Only those correspondents known to be employed by ABC in a given month were counted when determining means. Thus, until August only the first five correspondents were used when determining means. For example, during the month of January, the first five correspondents made a total of 18 appearances for an average of 3.6 appearances per correspondent. (Barbara Walters, whose anchor role was increasingly transformed into a correspondent's role, was counted as a correspondent from August through December.)

CBS														
Robin Wright	1	1	3	4	1	4	3	2	3	2	6	3	33	14.5
Betty Ann Bowser	3	2	6	3	2	3	2	3	3	1	2	0	30	13.2
Leslie Stahl	2	4	3	0	3	2	9	1	0	0	0	0	24	10.5
Marya McLaughlin	3	0	2	0	4	4	4	3	1	0	2	0	23	10.1
Sharron Lovejoy	1	3	4	2	2	0	3	3	1	0	0	0	19	8.3
Renee Poussaint	2	1	4	1	2	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	18	7.9
Jackie Casselberry	2	3	0	1	1	0	3	0	1	1	0	1	13	5.7
Susan Peterson	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	3	1	2	0	0	12	5.3
Susan Spencer	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	3	1	11	4.8
Betsy Aaron	2	1	0	4	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	11	4.8
Lee Thornton	1	1	0	2	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	10	4.4
Martha Teichner	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	7	3.1
Miriam Bjerre	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	1.8
Jane Miller	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.3
Joan Snyder	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.9
Joan Hall	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.9
Miscellaneous[1]	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	6	2.6
TOTAL	19	18	23	19	22	24	34	21	12	6	18	12	228	99.2
Mean No. of Appearances[2]	1.7	1.6	2.1	1.7	2.0	2.0	2.6	1.8	1.5	1.0	2.2	2.0	1.8	

[1] Includes the following correspondents who appeared once: Vivian Rosenberg, January; Connie Chung, January; Melinda Nix, March; Melinda Liliu, July; Linda Kobbel, August; Angela Shelley, September.

[2] Only those correspondents known to be employed as correspondents in a given month were counted. For example, Leslie Stahl left the CBS Evening News to co-anchor the CBS Morning News in September. The averages are probably high because several infrequently appearing correspondents were not counted if they did not appear again later in the year, such as Joan Snyder, Betsy Aaron, and Sharron Lovejoy.

Table B.3 (Continued)

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total	
													No.	%
NBC														
Marilyn Berger	7	11	10	11	9	9	0	2	0	1	0	0	60	22.2
Judy Woodruff	2	2	5	6	6	2	10	6	6	6	1	4	56	20.7
Carole Simpson	1	7	5	4	5	2	6	3	4	5	4	1	47	17.4
Linda Ellerbee	2	2	6	0	2	2	2	3	0	1	5	7	32	11.8
Catherine Mackin	3	2	3	4	1	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	21	7.8
Betty Rollin	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	4	1	0	3	15	5.6
Hillary Brown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	9	3.3
Mary Alice Williams	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	1	8	3.0
Jessica Savitch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	2	7	2.6
Diane Wildman	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1.8
Miscellaneous[5]	0	1	1	4	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	10	3.7
TOTAL	17	29	33	29	23	23	28	17	15	17	12	27	270	99.9
Mean No. of Appearances[6]	2.4	3.6	4.1	2.9	3.8	2.9	3.5	2.8	2.1	2.1	2.4	3.8	3.0	

[5] Includes the following correspondents who appeared once: Heidi Schulman, February; Stephanie Fowler, March; Jan Ryan, April; Sandy Gilmore, April; Betty Furness, April; Robin Groth, April; Tricia Toyota, June; Audrey June Taylor, June; Liz Trotta, July; and Tieri Rolland, October.

[6] Only those correspondents already employed were counted when determining means; if a correspondent is known to have left NBC, as in the case of Catherine Mackin or Diane Wildman, she was not counted for those months in which a zero appears.

Appendix C

Table C.1
Concentration of Employees in Nine Job Categories
40 Station Sample
1975 and 1977

	1975		1977		% Change
	No.	%	No.	%	from 1975
Officials and Managers	1,093	13.4	1,175	14.4	+7.5
Professionals	2,159	26.4	2,289	28.0	+6.1*
Technicians	2,524	30.9	2,618	32.0	+3.6
Sales	310	3.8	252	3.1	−18.4
Subtotal	6,086	74.5	6,334	77.5	+4.0**
Clerical	1,438	17.6	1,469	18.0	+3.3
Craftsmen	415	5.1	172	2.1	−58.8***
Operatives	99	1.2	88	1.1	−8.3
Laborers	25	0.3	22	0.3	—
Service Workers	113	1.4	100	1.2	−14.3
Subtotal	2,090	25.6	1,851	22.7	−11.3**
TOTAL	8,176	100.1	8,185	100.2	

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.
**Difference is significant at the .01 level.
***Difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table C.2
Comparison of Percentages of Official and Manager Employees Versus All Employees
(40-station sample)
1977

		White		Black		Asian American/ Pacific Island		American Indian/ Alaskan Native		Hispanic		Total and Percent of Officials and Managers Among All Employees
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Official and Manager Employees	No.	763	250	61	52	12	7	0	1	20	9	1175
	%	64.9	21.3	5.2	4.4	1.0	0.6	0.0	0.1	1.7	0.8	14.4
All Employees	No.	4682	1764	689	561	76	94	13	10	178	118	8185
	%	57.2	21.6	8.4	6.8	0.9	1.1	0.2	0.1	2.2	1.4	99.9
Percent Difference		+11.9***	−1.4	−61.5***	−54.5***	+10.0	−83.3	—	—	−29.4	−75.0	

***Difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table C.3

Utilization Ratios[1] of Employees at 40 Television Stations by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex 1977

	White		Black		Hispanic		Other Races[2]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
New York[3]								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.43	0.43	0.76	0.55	0.15	0.16	0.58	—[4]
	1.30	0.44	0.81	0.77	0.94	0.61	1.86	1.78
	1.11	0.64	1.30	0.79	1.12	—	1.40	1.61
	1.11	0.86	0.90	0.44	0.79	0.79	—	0.54
All Nine Job Categories	1.25	0.63	0.63	1.17	0.12	0.79	0.46	—
	1.04	0.71	0.84	1.41	0.79	1.16	1.28	1.78
	0.98	0.77	1.18	1.28	0.88	0.91	1.16	1.78
	0.83	1.16	0.75	1.12	0.65	2.19	—	0.71
Los Angeles								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.16	0.47	1.24	0.62	0.71	0.35	1.14	0.67
	0.94	0.75	1.17	0.81	0.75	0.14	1.22	2.27
	1.11	0.48	1.70	0.67	0.57	0.13	1.50	1.60
	1.18	0.52	1.36	0.23	0.84	0.22	0.18	0.53
All Nine Job Categories	1.04	0.63	1.13	0.76	0.64	0.72	1.04	0.60
	0.74	0.96	1.11	1.64	0.74	0.26	0.90	3.30
	0.91	0.64	1.43	1.10	0.66	0.63	1.82	2.20
	1.06	0.64	1.17	0.50	0.86	0.36	0.31	1.60
Chicago								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.74	0.44	0.87	0.26	0.83	—	2.35	—
	1.91	0.33	0.55	0.32	0.62	0.17	3.20	—
	1.72	0.31	1.04	0.40	1.29	0.13	6.18	0.88
	1.73	0.49	0.61	0.08	0.91	—	4.41	4.41
All Nine Job Categories	1.51	0.58	0.78	0.44	0.88	0.65	1.76	3.52
	1.71	0.46	0.48	0.50	0.50	0.69	3.50	1.76
	1.45	0.42	1.01	0.98	1.17	1.13	4.41	0.59
	1.50	0.67	0.73	0.19	0.75	—	3.53	5.29
Detroit								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.52	0.30	0.76	0.19	1.59	—	2.00	—
	0.96	0.57	2.08	1.07	—	4.28	—	11.88
	1.42	0.38	1.17	0.18	—	—	—	4.40
	1.41	0.47	0.62	0.71	—	—	—	—
All Nine Job Categories	1.18	0.57	1.22	1.14	1.22	1.19	1.67	3.12
	0.75	0.64	1.91	2.51	—	3.57	—	18.12
	1.24	0.52	1.25	0.76	0.62	—	1.67	3.10
	1.21	0.68	0.61	1.14	—	2.62	—	6.25
Philadelphia								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.44	0.29	0.76	0.45	0.49	8.24	—	3.33
	1.35	0.45	0.72	0.79	0.21	5.29	—	4.28
	1.59	0.26	0.41	0.25	—	—	6.78	—
	1.22	0.51	1.45	0.32	0.98	—	—	—
All Nine Job Categories	1.27	0.53	0.77	0.80	0.42	11.18	1.42	1.90
	1.14	0.63	1.15	0.87	0.33	8.23	—	0.52
	1.30	0.50	0.63	0.92	—	8.23	5.00	—
	1.07	0.71	1.39	0.65	0.84	4.12	—	—

Table C.3 (Continued)

San Francisco								
Upper Four Job Categories	2.01	0.25	1.13	0.16	0.24	0.28	0.67	0.55
	1.78	0.34	1.23	0.34	0.67	0.22	0.75	0.56
	1.84	0.28	1.30	0.24	0.72	0.65	0.20	0.82
	2.09	0.20	1.05	0.29	0.38	0.33	0.65	0.25
All Nine Job Categories	1.75	0.40	0.96	0.34	0.21	0.37	0.62	1.04
	1.53	0.39	1.38	0.64	0.72	0.32	0.91	0.93
	1.51	0.58	1.19	0.55	0.55	0.65	0.14	0.78
	1.88	0.36	1.00	0.50	0.41	0.37	0.55	0.27
St. Louis								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.03	0.69	2.03	0.42	—	8.12	18.60	—
	1.44	0.40	0.95	0.39	1.60	—	5.71	—
	1.64	0.22	0.54	0.39	1.60	—	—	—
	1.60	0.22	0.80	0.19	2.40	—	—	—
All Nine Job Categories	0.87	0.86	1.70	1.55	—	5.00	11.43	—
	1.16	0.59	0.92	1.74	2.60	—	4.30	—
	1.45	0.41	0.66	0.81	1.40	—	—	—
	1.30	0.50	0.92	1.13	1.60	—	—	—
Cleveland								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.91	0.19	1.43	0.29	1.51	—	4.70	—
	1.84	0.33	1.15	0.28	—	—	—	3.64
	1.82	0.21	1.32	0.65	2.08	—	7.06	—
	1.72	0.50	0.71	0.42	—	—	—	—
All Nine Job Categories	1.72	0.32	1.46	0.56	1.32	—	4.12	—
	1.58	0.46	1.06	0.93	—	—	—	2.73
	1.50	0.44	1.32	1.00	1.70	0.80	4.70	—
	1.42	0.75	0.57	0.50	—	2.80	—	—
Washington, D.C.								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.07	1.02	0.86	0.98	0.19	1.10	—	—
	1.33	0.69	1.18	0.62	0.07	1.64	—	—
	1.34	0.49	1.51	0.54	0.14	0.55	0.23	0.72
	1.51	0.53	0.93	0.66	—	—	—	—
All Nine Job Categories	0.86	1.37	0.78	1.06	0.16	0.96	—	—
	1.16	0.83	1.22	0.83	0.06	1.37	—	—
	1.10	0.69	1.53	0.86	0.11	0.41	0.17	1.35
	1.34	0.68	0.86	1.02	—	—	—	—
Atlanta								
Upper Four Job Categories	1.32	0.65	1.16	0.22	—	—	6.36	10.00
	1.20	0.77	1.07	0.69	—	—	—	—
	1.52	0.31	1.09	0.39	—	—	7.27	—
	1.58	0.35	0.78	0.42	—	—	—	—
All Nine Job Categories	1.15	0.84	1.05	0.49	—	—	5.45	17.14
	0.92	0.77	1.49	1.59	—	—	—	—
	1.19	0.77	0.94	0.77	—	—	5.45	—
	1.33	0.61	0.70	0.92	—	—	—	—

[1] Parity (1.00) is achieved when the percentage of employees of each group at a television station equals the percentage of each group in the local SMSA labor force. In the cases of Chicago and Cleveland, population data were substituted for labor force data due to the unavailability of labor force data subdivided by sex.

[2] In most SMSAs, labor force data are not provided separately for Asian and Pacific Island Americans and American Indians; instead, they are grouped together as "other races." This Commission was unable to obtain data for each group separately. Asian and Pacific Island Americans and American Indians often constitute relatively small percentages of labor forces and the employment of even one person from either of these groups at a station with relatively few employees often artificially raises their utilization ratios, as can be seen in some of these data.

[3] The television markets are ranked according to how fully the stations in the market utilize minorities and women. In New York minorities and women are more fully utilized and in Atlanta they are less fully utilized.

[4] A dash indicates that people of this group are in the local labor force but none are employed at the station.

Table C.4
FCC Form 395 Submissions by ABC, CBS, and NBC, 1977

ABC	Number of Employees	
1. Radio-TV Los Angeles (includes San Francisco Stations)	1,088	
2. Radio-TV New York	3,204	
3. Radio-TV Chicago	77	
4. Radio-TV Washington, D.C.	228	
5. TV Network News Atlanta	31	
SUBTOTAL	4,628	
(Employees at owned stations submitted separately by stations)	1,986	
6. Consolidated Report		6,614
TOTAL		6,614

CBS	Number of Employees	
1. TV Network Division (Los Angeles)	957	
2. TV Network Division (Washington, D.C.)	77	
3. TV Network (New York)	1,800	
SUBTOTAL	2,834	
4. TV Network Consolidated (NY, DC, LA, Chicago, Detroit)		2,834
5. CBS TV Stations Division	213	
(Employees at owned stations submitted separately by station)	1,324	
SUBTOTAL	1,537	
6. Consolidated TV Stations Division		1,537
7. CBS Radio Network Division (New York)	230	
8. CBS Radio Stations Division (New York)	85	
(Employees at owned stations submitted separately by stations)	669	
SUBTOTAL	784	
9. Consolidated CBS Radio Stations Division		784
10. CBS News Division (Washington, D.C.)	109	
11. CBS News Division (New York)	768	
SUBTOTAL	877	
12. Consolidated CBS News Division		877
No Overall Consolidated Report submitted		
		6,032

NBC	Number of Employees	
1. TV Network (Chicago, Burbank, Washington, DC)	2,807	
2. TV Network (Burbank)	1,126	
3. TV Network (Washington, DC)	153	
4. TV Network (Chicago)	58	
5. Station HQ (Chicago)	15	
6. Station HQ (San Francisco)	3	
7. Station HQ (Detroit)	3	
8. HQ owned TV-Radio	109	
9. Radio Network (New York)	292	
10. Radio Network (Washington, DC)	36	
11. Radio Network (Burbank)	3	
12. Radio Network (Chicago)	7	
SUBTOTAL	4,612	
(Employees at owned stations submitted separately by stations)		1,962
13. Consolidated Report		6,574
		6,574

Source: Form 395 Employment reports submitted to the FCC.

Table C.5
Officials and Managers by Race, Ethnicity and Sex For Network-Owned Stations Versus Network Headquarters
1977

		White		Black		Asian American/ Pacific Island		American Indian/ Alaskan Native		Hispanic		Total Officials and Managers and Percent of All Employees
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
ABC												
Owned	No.	208	76	7	17	4	0	0	1	5	1	319
Stations	%	65.2	23.8	2.2	5.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.6	0.3	16.1
Headquarters	No.	722	167	28	17	8	2	0	0	13	5	962
	%	75.0	17.4	2.9	1.8	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.5	20.8
Percent Difference		+15.0***	−26.9**	+31.8	−66.0***	−33.3	—	—	—	−12.5	+66.7	+29.2***
CBS												
Owned	No.	148	93	14	21	3	2	0	2	6	4	293
Stations	%	50.5	31.7	4.8	7.2	1.0	0.7	0.0	0.7	2.0	1.4	16.3
Headquarters	No.	619	163	29	13	15	5	0	0	13	1	858
	%	72.1	19.0	3.4	1.5	1.8	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.1	20.2
Percent Difference		+42.8***	−40.1***	−29.2	−79.2***	+80.0	−14.3	—	—	−25.0	−92.8	+23.9***
NBC												
Owned	No.	157	36	17	9	1	0	1	0	4	0	225
Stations	%	69.8	16.0	7.6	4.0	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.7	0.0	11.5
Headquarters	No.	559	80	19	5	3	0	1	1	10	1	679
	%	82.3	11.8	2.8	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1	1.5	0.1	14.7
Percent Difference		+17.9***	−26.2	−63.2***	−82.5***	—	—	−75.0	—	−11.8	—	+27.8***

Source: Network headquarters reports submitted to the FCC in 1977 were used to develop the "headquarters" data shown here. Official and manager employees include those reported for each headquarters unit: reports 1 through 5, ABC; reports 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11, CBS; and reports 1 through 12, NBC. (See table C.3 for these designations.) Owned-station data include both television and radio station official and manager employees reported by ABC, CBS, and NBC for each of their owned-stations. Radio station employees are included because it is impossible to separate television headquarters employees from radio headquarters employees. See table C.3.

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.
**Difference is significant at the .01 level.
***Difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table C.6
Employees by Race, Ethnicity and Sex For Network-Owned Stations Versus Network Headquarters
1977

		White		Black		Asian American/ Pacific Island		American Indian/ Alaskan Native		Hispanic		Total Employees and percent at Stations and Headquarters
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
ABC												
Owned Stations	No.	1216	417	110	123	21	25	5	4	32	33	1986
	%	61.2	21.0	5.5	6.2	1.0	1.2	0.3	0.2	1.6	1.7	30.0
Headquarters	No.	2744	1166	237	213	37	22	2	2	128	77	4628
	%	59.3	25.2	5.1	4.6	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.0	2.8	1.7	70.0
Percent Difference		−3.1	+20.0***	−7.3	−25.8**	−20.0	−58.3**	—	—	+75.0**	—	
CBS												
Owned Stations	No.	1047	378	128	123	10	25	0	4	52	26	1793
	%	58.4	21.1	7.1	6.9	0.6	1.4	0.0	0.2	2.9	1.4	29.7
Headquarters	No.	2611	1028	215	159	67	29	0	0	99	31	4239
	%	61.6	24.2	5.1	3.8	1.6	0.7	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.7	70.3
Percent Difference		+5.5*	+14.7**	−28.2**	−44.9***	+166.7**	−50.0**	—	—	−20.7	−50.0**	
NBC												
Owned Stations	No.	1042	408	208	157	29	23	5	1	57	32	1962
	%	53.1	20.8	10.6	8.0	1.5	1.2	0.2	0.1	2.9	1.6	29.8
Headquarters	No.	2813	1087	220	240	37	23	15	6	112	59	4612
	%	61.0	23.6	4.8	5.2	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.1	2.4	1.3	70.2
Percent Difference		+14.9***	+13.5*	−54.7***	−35.0***	−46.7**	−58.3**	+50.0	—	−17.2	−18.8	

Source: Network headquarters reports submitted to the FCC in 1977 were used to develop the "headquarters" data shown here. All employees include those reported for each headquarters unit. Owned-station data include both radio and television station employees reported by ABC, CBS, and NBC for each of their owned stations. Radio station employees were included because it is impossible to separate radio headquarters employees from television headquarters employees. See table C.3.

*Difference is significant at the .05 level.
**Difference is significant at the .01 level.
***Difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table C.7
Employees in Nine Job Categories at Network Headquarters by Race, Ethnicity and Sex 1977

		White		Black		Asian American/ Pacific Island		American Indian/ Alaskan Native		Hispanic		Total
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Employees
Officials and Managers												
ABC	No.	722	167	28	17	8	2	0	0	13	5	962
	%	26.3	14.3	11.8	8.0	21.6	9.1	0.0	0.0	10.2	6.5	20.8
CBS	No.	619	163	29	13	15	5	0	0	13	1	858
	%	23.7	15.9	13.5	8.2	22.4	17.2	0.0	0.0	13.2	3.2	20.2
NBC	No.	559	80	19	5	3	0	1	1	10	1	679
	%	19.9	7.4	8.6	2.1	8.1	0.0	6.7	16.7	8.9	1.7	14.7
Professionals												
ABC	No.	516	220	38	14	7	5	0	2	16	4	822
	%	18.8	18.9	16.0	6.6	18.9	22.7	0.0	100.0	12.5	5.2	17.7
CBS	No.	591	215	39	26	18	8	0	0	15	9	921
	%	22.6	20.9	18.1	16.4	26.9	27.6	0.0	0.0	15.2	29.0	21.7
NBC	No.	723	257	51	35	11	10	0	1	26	4	1118
	%	25.7	23.6	23.2	14.6	29.7	43.4	0.0	16.7	23.2	6.8	24.2
Technicians												
ABC	No.	1015	44	68	6	15	2	2	0	39	0	1191
	%	37.0	3.8	28.7	2.8	40.5	9.1	100.0	0.0	30.5	0.0	25.7
CBS	No.	932	37	81	1	17	1	0	0	38	2	1109
	%	35.7	3.6	37.7	0.7	25.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	38.4	6.4	26.2
NBC	No.	959	49	49	7	18	1	8	0	44	1	1136
	%	34.1	4.5	22.2	2.9	48.6	4.3	53.3	0.0	39.3	1.7	24.6
Sales												
ABC	No.	63	21	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	91
	%	2.3	1.8	1.7	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	2.0
CBS	No.	76	15	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	97
	%	2.9	1.5	2.3	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3
NBC	No.	42	7	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	54
	%	1.5	0.6	1.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Office and Clerical												
ABC	No.	190	705	68	172	7	13	0	0	42	67	1264
	%	6.9	60.5	28.7	80.8	18.9	59.1	0.0	0.0	32.8	87.0	27.3
CBS	No.	121	596	16	116	7	15	0	0	8	18	897
	%	4.6	58.0	7.4	73.0	10.4	51.7	0.0	0.0	8.1	58.1	21.2
NBC	No.	198	685	61	190	1	12	0	4	14	52	1217
	%	7.0	63.0	27.7	79.2	2.7	52.2	0.0	66.7	12.5	88.1	26.4

Table C.7 (Continued)

Lower Four											
ABC	No.	238	9	31	2	0	0	0	0	18	0	298
	%	8.7	0.8	13.2	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.1	0.0	6.3
CBS	No.	272	2	45	3	9	0	0	0	25	1	
	%	10.4	0.2	20.9	1.9	13.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.2	3.2	
NBC	No.	332	9	36	2	4	0	6	0	18	1	408
	%	11.8	0.8	16.4	0.8	10.8	0.0	40.0	0.0	16.1	1.7	8.8
TOTAL												
ABC	No.	2744	1166	237	213	37	22	2	2	128	77	4628
	%	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
CBS	No.	2611	1028	215	159	67	29	0	0	99	31	4239
	%	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.2	100.0	99.9	0.0	0.0	100.1	99.9	100.0
NBC	No.	2813	1087	220	240	37	23	15	6	112	59	4612
	%	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9

Appendix D

Federal Communications Commission
Washington, D.C. 20554
July 19, 1978

Mr. Louis Nunez
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
1121 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Nunez:

This is in reference to your letter of June 9, 1978, transmitting for this agency's consideration copies of a report, entitled "Window Dressing on the Set: An Update," to be published by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (CCR). Specifically, you request that we review the draft report for any material we may consider to be inaccurate.

Unfortunately, time constraints do not permit a line-by-line analysis of the factual employment data which the CCR compiled from the annual employment reports (FCC Form 395) of the selected 40 television stations. However, the employment figures do not appear substantially inaccurate. While CCR acknowledges that these figures reflect increased minority and female participation levels in 1976 and 1977, it finds on the basis of a study of employee "job titles, salaries, and status on organizational charts" at eight of the sampled stations that minority and females do not occupy decision-making positions. Accordingly, the CCR criticizes—as it had in its earlier report—the inflated classification of employees in the various Form 395 job categories, particular the officials and managers category. Whether the use of the present FCC Form 395 results in an inaccurate and misleading picture of minority and female employment because the job categories are too vague and are not function-oriented was the primary concern which led the Commission to institute in November of 1977, a general rulemaking inquiry concerning the annual employment report. In the instant report, CCR commends this action of the Commission and urges the expeditious resolution of that inquiry. Implicit in the report is CCR's suggestion that once an accurate picture of the status of women and minorities in the television industry is set forth the Commission would be attentive to their inclusion in true decision-making positions at television broadcast stations. We believe that the implementation of such a recommendation, be it expressly stated or otherwise, would be fully compatible with the Commission's regulatory responsibilities in the EEO area.

The remainder of the report details a survey of the portrayal of minorities and women in television dramas and their coverage and participation in network news programs. Based essentially upon a monitoring of two weeks of prime time network programming, CCR concludes that there has been a decline in minority and female

news coverage since its earlier report and that minorities and females are now portrayed in entertainment programs both in an underrepresented fashion and in a stereotyped manner to an even greater extent than before. We believe that the conclusions drawn by CCR from the stated compilations cannot be readily accepted without an analysis of the actual programs monitored and an assessment of the subjective determinations made by the monitors. More importantly, even if the problem does exist as reported by CCR, we continue to believe, as earlier stated in our response to the first CCR report, that the Commission, for constitutional as well as practical reasons, cannot allow itself to be drawn into the role of overseeing the content of entertainment programs, judging role models, or otherwise improperly intruding into the programming judgments of its television licensees.

In the updated report, CCR acknowledges the tightrope the Commission must walk with respect to the regulation of television programming fare and the limits of our regulatory authority with respect to the three national television networks. Nevertheless, CCR submits that the following issues should be explored in the Commission's pending inquiry regarding these should be explored in the Commission's pending inquiry regarding these networks:

> Does the fact that network prime time entertainment programs exclude and or underrepresent minorities and women and portray them in stereotyped roles constitute a failure to serve the public interest?
>
> To what extent do exclusion, underrepresentation, and stereotyping result from concentration of programming decision-making at the network level?
>
> To what extent does the failure of the networks to employ minorities and women in significant numbers in decision-making positions result in the continued and, even, increased failure of the networks to include minorities and women in representative numbers and roles that generate respect?
>
> To what extent is the failure of the networks to cover news about minorities and women and to seek out female and minority newsmakers a result of the overwhelming dominance of their news operations by white males?

I have consulted with the Network Inquiry staff and we do not believe that expansion of the network inquiry in the manner suggested by CCR is essential to a meaningful evaluation of the matters at issue in that proceeding, namely, whether the networks are engaging in practices which might unduly encroach on the programming discretion of television broadcast licensees or unnecessarily restrict the development of new sources of television programming. Moreover, such enlargement would embroil the Commission in the type of programming review that it must, as indicated above, eschew.

Sincerely yours,

Wallace E. Johnson
Chief, Broadcast Bureau

Appendix E

Federal Communications Commission
Washington, D.C. 20554
Oct. 16, 1978

Mr. Louis Nunez
Acting Staff Director
United States Commission on Civil Rights
1121 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

Dear Mr. Nunez:

Pursuant to your request we have reviewed the re-drafted portions of your report entitled "Window Dressing on the Set: An Update" for accuracy. In this regard more complete FCC policy information and network employment data was provided to your staff on October 12, 1978.
Further comment on the report appears unwarranted at this time because you have not provided us with the forthcoming recommendation. We wish you to note also that we anticipate a resolution to the Commission's Notice of Inquiry concerning the amendment of the Annual Employment Report (FCC Form 395) in the near future. (A special meeting is scheduled on October 31, 1978). For these reasons, we prefer to respond in a more detailed manner when your report is published.

Sincerely,

Charles D. Ferris
Chairman

* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1979 622-734/583